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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Life in three multi-cultural classrooms: the notion of intersubjectivity in teaching and learning

by

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Shirley Hopkinson

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Elementary Education

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
Spring 1986

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Life in three multi-cultural classrooms: the notion of intersubjectivity in teaching and learning submitted by Shirley Hopkinson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Joyce Edwards
Supervisor

James Blakey

External Examiner

Date April 23, 1986

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my children Simone, Lyn and Dexter for all the sacrifices which they made on my behalf while I pursued professional development in Alberta. I also dedicate this work to all children who have experienced the disruption of ties with their significant Others.

ABSTRACT

An attempt to understand three teachers' experiences of working with kindergarten children from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds was explored in four phases over eighteen months. The study made use of ethnographic strategies --- involving observations, formal and informal discussions, and video-audio tapings. This permitted a subsequent analysis of the teaching-learning situation involving the verbal and non-verbal behaviours in interactive teacher-children situations. The use of hermeneutics assisted the researcher to uncover the meanings which participants held for their experiences.

The three teachers involved were English-speaking, whilst the children were non-English-speaking immigrants. The guiding questions were: What is the nature of the teachers' experience? What are the factors influencing the teaching-learning environment? Emphasis was on the language of teaching and dialogue among teachers and students. Both professional and personal contradictions were observed. Some of these were the result of teachers' ethnocentrism, use of traditional methods, lack of genuine communication between teachers and students; teacher-centered teaching etc. This created an unhealthy learning environment which made unusual demands on the children. Furthermore the conditions invalidated the evaluation processes of children.

It was found that the extent to which the child's cultural and linguistic resources differed from those of the second culture classroom largely determined the extent of success or failure which non-English-speaking immigrant children experienced in multicultural classrooms.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background To Problem

The background of the problem originates in the act of immigration as a result of which people from different ethnocultural backgrounds come into the Canadian society and have to create a new life. Among such people are non-English-speaking children whose first formal introduction into the values and patterns of meanings of life in the second culture society is through the classroom where they are evaluated in the general sense of the word according to Canadian teachers' perception of the world.

One of the facts of life in the Canadian kindergarten classroom is the presence of such children with distinctly different language, ethnic and cultural backgrounds from those of English-speaking Canadian teachers. The latter are expected to help such children to learn second-culture concepts successfully. Research related to the life adjustments which these children have to make in the new society has suggested many ways whereby they could experience greater success at academic programs and at living in a new culture (Masemann, 1979). One suggestion is that of using appropriate models of teaching English-as-a-second language (Berryman, 1984; Cummins, 1977; Kroshen, 1983; Rogers, 1978; Seligman, 1972). Another suggestion is that if the teachers' personal methodology of teaching is based on the theory of the learner as a source of knowledge for his or her own learning, then these children's most basic human needs for success may be met and nurtured, and they may realize more success than failure at school programs (Brown, 1980; Freire, 1980; Freire, 1984).

It may seem as though research into the education of speakers of languages other than English has exploded in North America over the past decade. However, very little empirical investigation has been carried out on how kindergarten teachers from English-only backgrounds, transcend language, culture and ethnic barriers in order to help non-English-speaking immigrant children initiate and maintain the process of successful learning based on the second-culture concepts and expectations. Very little is known about whether the subjective knowledge which the children bring to the second-culture classroom can be identified by the teachers who cannot use the children's native language. There has also been little research toward an understanding of the daily lived experience of those teachers faced with the inability to identify through a common language, what concepts these children already know, relative to the second-culture concepts. What might life really be like for such teachers in multicultural classrooms where information sharing may take on a new meaning? It is hoped that these missing links may be found, explained and understood through this study.

In the classroom setting information sharing among teachers and children is one of the primary goals of the teaching-learning process. Here, children's linguistic capabilities for communicating are often the basis on which their potential academic success is evaluated. Tough (1979) and Wells (1981, 1984) confirm the foregoing views. These researchers also observed that emphasis on how children share information through the vehicle of talk takes precedence over what the talk itself is intended to share. Wells also observed that a great part of teachers' information-sharing time was spent on ensuring a correct way of speaking, rather than on facilitating the growth of children's language for learning in the classroom.

In classrooms where the group is representative of a homogenous language community, teachers may take for granted that the process for children's understanding of the knowledge to be shared may not present too many problems for both teachers and children, but this may be an illusion. When the classroom group is representative of heterogenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds, teachers' attitudes which take for granted that significant learning may be taking place from their teaching may lead to many misleading assumptions about language-different children. For example, teachers may base serious systematic judgements about children's intellectual abilities on misleading clues arising from a focus on children's language differences per se, rather than on how their native language helps them to function in the classroom (Giles, 1970). This may not be intentional on the teachers' part, but may be the result of a lack of knowledge of alternatives for coping with the distinct differences in their classrooms. If this is the case, what factors then influence how such teachers shape their teaching-learning processes for non-English-speaking immigrant children?

Does the absence of an understanding of how the world of teaching and learning looks to Japanese, Vietnamese, and/or Central American children, on the part of teachers from English-speaking backgrounds create unnecessary problems in learning as these children attempt to make sense of the classroom life they encounter? If, however, these teachers work with the intersubjective nature of this unique relationship by accommodating distinctly different cultural and language heritages in program content and structure, would the result be more positive experiences for children in the multicultural classroom? An attempt will be made to shed some light on how teachers from English-speaking backgrounds and children from non-English-speaking backgrounds embrace life in this unique relationship; that is, how such teachers use language, actions and material resources to help non-English-speaking immigrant children to make what is taught their knowledge in the second-culture context. In this chapter, the researcher will,

1) state specifically the purpose and focus of the study;
2) share the personal experience which motivated the direction of this study;

B. A Personal Experience

During a privileged experience I was the Faculty Consultant to a third year Bachelor of Education student assigned to a practicum session in an inner-city Grade 2 classroom.

I shared the frustrations of this potential educator who seemed to lack the ability to achieve mutual understanding in tasks with non-English-speaking immigrant children.

As I entered this classroom, four groups of Canadian students were quietly completing mimeographed mathematics worksheets according to the teacher's guidance. There was also a fifth group of students working at colouring other mimeographed sheets which primarily 'filled time'. This group was composed of seven children from minority language and cultural backgrounds.

In our initial discussions about her second week of student teaching, the student teacher pointed out that the fifth group of children was occupied in the way I observed since they were identified by her co-operating teacher as "those who are hopeless learners" because of their inability to demonstrate facility in the classroom language. In her own modest manner this student teacher remarked,

> *They're really, really slow (then chuckled and continued) Without them, I'm sure I could have a perfect practicum evaluation.*

She continued in a manner which seemed intended to justify the separation of "slow learners" from "faster learners".

> *They're like Special Education kids you know -- with difficult learning problems. They've got to be sent to the E.S.L. and Resource Room when it's all worked out. They have problems to learn because they really can't handle English -- and you know they won't make it if they don't. I just allow them to do fun things while I push the others.*

I became consumed with the need to know what the process of teaching and learning was like for an English-only teacher in the immensely asymmetrical interactive relationship. Here, there were children who came from a different "world", with completely different semantic references about that world and the people around them. On the other side of this situation was the student teacher who also came with values and beliefs in which she was socialized to perceive her world, others and herself. As such, each brought his/her different categories for interpretation from his/her own personal contexts.

Given the differences which each brought to a common, but new context, I was curious to discover how each transcended the barriers erected by these differences in the interest of surviving the academic experiences of the learning process.

The labels which I heard for describing the differences in children echoed in my ears. I figuratively took that student teacher home and mentally explored what might be the personal and/or professional, or other, factors which influenced her in facilitating a process for learning, especially for children of minority language and cultural backgrounds. I reflected on this situation and recalled the teacher's seemingly genuine enthusiasm and concern to measure her effectiveness as a teacher by the production of written factual responses. I also recalled her frustrations when she could not continue to *exempt the minority children from the regular classroom activities even though she seemed unable to accept their individual differences.*

I was intrigued by the expectations for these children in the English-speaking classroom but even more intrigued to discover what factors influenced the decisions which this student teacher made with regards to what counted as knowledge: why children needed to learn what she engaged them in and the strategies she identified to achieve goals set for each activity. This intrigue turned into a need to know whether this "fun-work" dichotomy would last the duration of the practicum experience. While it did not, in the sense that I encountered originally, the teacher-child interaction patterns became less relaxed and less tolerant with the minority group.

As the weeks went by I tried to focus more of my observations on the teacher's utilization of the language abilities of those children who were labelled "fast learners". The purpose here was to identify how much their Standard English production was used to facilitate higher levels of thinking which were thought to be unattainable by the minority language group. Unfortunately, except for choral responses to teacher initiated questions and those opportunities when the teacher permitted verbal responses, the use of their language reflected the controlled, restricted and conforming oral responses so well documented in research on "talk" in the classroom (Cazden, 1980; Labov, 1971a; Stubbs, 1983; Wells, 1983). Little significant deliberate opportunity was given for these "fast learners" to generate their own thinking for learning, and vice versa, through their own language.

During subsequent weeks the student teacher and I took a long, in-depth look at her total student population. We balanced learning experiences with teacher- and child-initiated tasks in mixed groups of local and minority children and tried to identify the minimum of one positive response that each demonstrated in each supervised task. We then examined the co-operative efforts which resulted in teacher-expected goals in order to identify how both categories of children accomplished these in spite of visible differences. Together we focussed continually on the positive contributions these children brought to the tasks as a result of their individual strengths: those who spoke the *classroom language fluently and those who used actions and their knowledge of completing tasks in alternative ways. The point of all this was to help this teacher extend her teaching process beyond the traditional methods of teaching the Canadian children.*

I shared with the student teacher my personal experience of the Caribbean family who "makes it to North America to see a better life". I discussed the consequent traumas suffered by this family as a result of trying to adjust to a system of totally different values and expectations. Throughout this experience one thing was quite evident: this teacher did not maintain her initial enthusiasm for "making things happen" for all children since she began to doubt her ability to cope with the multi-cultural dimension of her classroom population. Although her practicum was successfully completed, she wished that she had done a "better job" with the minority children.

I empathized with this student teacher. Her inability to accept and work with children from other cultures in a manner which could have helped them to maximize their learning potential concerned me.

Why was it that this teacher seemed to be unable to cope with the multi-cultural dimension in her classroom? Since local teachers would continue to be confronted with this multi-ethnic, multi-cultural dimension in their classrooms, I became curious to share their meaning of the experience of teaching children from different ethnocultural heritages. I became consumed with questions related to this problem. For example, how do teachers work with the culturally different child? How effective are the teaching strategies used with multi-ethnic groups? Can these strategies be more appropriately adapted to meet the needs of multi-ethnic groups? In other words, what is the classroom experience like for English-speaking teachers of children from non-English-speaking and different ethnocultural backgrounds?

C. The Need For A Quality Interpersonal Relationship in Teaching-Learning Contexts

In the absence of some knowledge of the backgrounds of the children which the education system serves, misdiagnoses may occur and result in inaccurate evaluation of these children's potential as a deficiency of the cognitive readiness to accommodate new learning. If other than linguistic signs are not used to determine their readiness potential for this new learning, the consequence may be a greater accumulation of presumed deficiency and may ultimately create negative effects in terms of self-esteem.

Non-English-speaking immigrant children bring to the local classroom context two obviously different characteristics. These are: their ethnic background and their language. In the process of developing their language and cultural ways, they will have experienced a variety of cognitive references and affective elements in a variety of contexts (Freire, 1980; Grove, 1983). If optimal learning is to occur, those who teach in multi-cultural contexts need to bridge the gaps between their own values, expectations and cultural perceptions and those which the immigrant children bring to the school setting (Lectures: First National Culture on Multicultural and International Education, 1981; Second National Conference on Multicultural and Intercultural Education, 1984).

In many classroom contexts, the primary mode of teaching is through oral communication. As such the process becomes basically a linguistic one. To teach in a way that enhances learning requires mutual communication and understanding. If these children's linguistic differences are overlooked in the shaping of the teaching-learning process, or if these differences are interpreted as something which will eventually go away, what then are the indicators of mutual understanding for learning? Do the three teachers in this study have the background training to understand the relationship between ethnicity and education?

It has been suggested that a child's early and formative education should not be in conflict with what is already known and with that which s/he will learn later in life (Katz, 1977; Spodeck, 1977). In the absence of a quality interpersonal relationship where teachers value these children for all that they are, how can conflicts or misdiagnoses be minimized? On the other hand, knowing from what backgrounds children come, and knowing what they are capable of academically is possible through the creation of quality interpersonal relationships which could lead to enhancement of the children's potential for learning.

Historically and traditionally, society has perceived the school as representing an institution of unique importance. Teachers are expected to perform many of the same functions as parents by inculcating norms and values which would help children become the kind of adults a society accepts by current standards. Through the school and the education process children's identities therefore take shape. This is achieved through the internalization of the values, norms, and expectations of others into their own behaviours and concept of self for a new society (Goffman, 1959). But given the differences in linguistic and cultural backgrounds brought by teachers and non-English-speaking immigrant children to the multi-cultural classroom contexts, how do these teachers help such children to use their identity in a new culture?

Literature has often shown that identity and concept of self are usually based on what a particular society or dominant group considers desirable (Dumont, 1971; Durkheim, 1953; Goffman, 1959). This tendency only seems to facilitate rapid assimilation into the particular dominant society, to the detriment and loss of a positive concept of self on the immigrants' part (Becker, 1969). As such, Self, others, and the real world become lost in the concern about the need to preserve what are held to be realities more important than people (Carpenter and Lorney, 1974). Optimal learning may occur for non-English-speaking immigrant children in multi-cultural classrooms if the parents and significant others responsible for shaping their identity are encouraged to give an input into the shaping of their children's learning process. This may facilitate a more gradual integrating into the norms and values of a new society, instead of a quick assimiliation. This would imply that a more humanizing teaching-learning process may be experienced. This would also imply that both teachers and those taught are valued by each other (Deductions From Lectures From The First and Second National Conference on Multicultural and Intercultural Education, 1983, 1984).

D. A Professional, Psychological and Emotional Maturing In The Teaching-Learning Process

Here, maturing/maturity means going beyond mere cultural awareness of others' ethnic groups to the ability to empathize, endorse and enhance their human potential and unique characteristics. This concept of maturity and its characteristics have been adopted primarily via papers presented at the Second National Conference on Multi-cultural and Intercultural Education : Developing Partnerships (November, 1984). An application of this concept may facilitate an atmosphere which will support the self-esteem of the immigrant children from various ethnic backgrounds as they make their transition into a new school, new society and new culture. Examples of the characteristics of such maturity include the following:

> *Such maturity would allow teachers to use the cultural differences of the children as a source for program content. In so doing, the result could be a more informed and aware individual who could then function more effectively to facilitate a process, suitably adapted to each individual's interests, potential, needs and learning style.*
>
> *Such maturity could allow teachers to utilize differences to help themselves and the children to function effectively in contexts which reflect various cultures. In so doing children would not be forced into the process of uniformity, nor conformity. Rather, a context for learning, in which both teachers and children derive and consolidate new learnings from each other's experiences may result.*
>
> *Such maturity would move teachers beyond merely conceptualizing subject areas as adequate curriculum-content which the defined children need to know in order to function effectively in a highly technological and ever changing society. Such maturity would allow teachers to conceptualize curriculum from a more global perspective in which the main subject is the human resources represented by each individual child.*
>
> *Such maturity would also allow teachers to facilitate a process of learning through which the children can feel that they are accepted and valued for their differences. A genuine acceptance could make the difference between academic survival and the perpetuation of stereotypes. It can also generate understanding that, to be different does not necessarily mean being unable to succeed.*

These characteristics find support in Freire (1983), Irving (1984), Kramsch (1983) and the Second Conference in Multiculturalism in Canada (1984).

All of the foregoing may seem to be quite a tall order on the attitudinal expectations of teachers. However, the act of schooling for non-English-speaking immigrant children in the second-culture classroom is basically one in which teachers and themselves will go through some degree of attitudinal and cultural re-construction in order to co-exist in that given space and time: the multi-cultural classroom (Porter, 1981). It is believed that the element of maturity is not only desirable in the multi-cultural classroom context, but is crucial for human development. But maturity in this context requires a constant process of reflection and self-examination of what and how teachers do to, and with non-English-speaking immigrant children during the shaping of the educational process through which these children are expected to assimilate, acculturate or integrate into the new society.

E. The home-school language conflict

There can be no doubt that numerous factors outside the school are likely to have more control and influence on children's success or failure than those working in the school system. However, ultimately the accountability for children's success or failure at school programs begins and ends with the teacher. While the out-of-school factors may control, and greatly influence the learning process, the view which is held in this study is that teachers are in the best position to enable success in this process for all children. Teachers are the ones who could put an end to the illusion that the services which the school provides to non-English-speaking immigrant children can contribute to successful learning without the teachers learning about the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of such children.

In spite of children's ethnicity, linguistic or social backgrounds, what they learn in any culture is a reflection of cognitive factors, social expectations and personal feelings. Shaping experiences for successful learning may therefore require a high level of sensitivity both to *what is learnt* and to *children's inner feelings* as the learning takes place. Sensitivity to such aspects of the teaching-learning process may be even more crucial when that process is shaped for children who may suffer from the fear of rejection and shame of being different from their English-speaking peers. A balance of cognitive and emotional concerns may facilitate a more successful, humanistic educational process for these children.

All of these foregoing personal guidelines may give rise to counter issues and questions. What is unassailable and cannot be denied however, is that the degree to which people are culture-bound filters quite easily into the way they see others. Teachers may not be any different. There may be no guarantee that they cannot fall prey to responding to non-English-speaking immigrant children through their own ethnic and cultural conditioning and biases. However, perhaps through a constant process of reflection and self-examination, teachers can become aware of their own cultural conditioning and its pervasiveness in the way they respond to these children. In other words, if teachers strive to monitor that process and minimize failures for children of multi-ethnic backgrounds in their classrooms, this may lead to the creation of an environment in which the teachers and children function effectively in the multi-cultural setting. Reflection and self-examination of the process created may consequently result in changes in teaching methodologies and other pedagogical practices which could serve to enhance these children's human potential to be successful in and out of school (Papers presented at the Second National Conference on Multicultural and Intercultural Education-Developing Partnerships, 1984).

It was hoped that the questions, thoughts and beliefs stated in the foregoing pages would provide guidelines for investigating life in three multi-cultural classrooms as it affects three local English-speaking kindergarten teachers and their non-English-speaking immigrant children.

F. Reflection And Self-examination For Learning Anew

It has already been stated that numerous factors outside the school are likely to have more control and influence on children's success or failure than those within the school system. Among such factors identified by fifteen kindergarten teachers of linguistically and culturally different children in the Pre-study of this research were the following.

1) The Home-School Language Conflict

This is the parents' insistence that their children "drop" the "school" language when they communicate at home. Their insistence on use of the native language creates much interference in the children's struggle to acquire and utilize the second-language to establish understandings about school concepts with their English-speaking teachers. Ultimately the result is that both the children's native language (L1) and their second-language (L2) proficiency for learning is less than adequate for a longer time than if the children had the opportunity to practise their L2 at home. In turn, as these children move higher up the education system where they are required to express higher abstract thinking over a greater volume of content, these children become less confident in their use of the oral mode of the second-language. The teachers' perceptions of such children at these levels confirm their belief that these children are incapable of higher levels of thinking. This and other evaluative decisions were made on the basis of the verbal mode of demonstrating cognitive ability.

2) Incongruities between Parents' and Teachers' Perceptions Of What Constitutes Knowledge

Parents' perceptions of what constitutes knowledge for kindergarten children may be in direct conflict with what teachers and second-culture authorities define as being worthy of knowing at this level of the education system. In one classroom the children of a refugee school principal from Vietnam were put through a heritage-culture-based curriculum. The teacher involved expressed a concern that she had exhausted her repertoire of strategies for motivating children to learn as far as these two children were concerned. At the end of the school year, the teacher recommended that the two children remain in the kindergarten for another year since she did not think they had the readiness skills to survive in Grade I. The father of these children became furious at this evaluation and brought Vietnamese folklore texts to the classroom. He had his children read to the teacher, then answer questions based on that which they read. He declared at the end of this confrontation: "There, you say my kids are not ready for Grade I. I say they are" (Pre-Study, October, 1983). The teacher promoted the two children as she said she had no authority to defy the father's evaluation.

3) Parental Support for Children's Interest in the School Program

Berryman (1984) suggests that this may be one of the most crucial factors for non-English-speaking children's success in the second-culture classroom. Since most of the parents of these children live most of their lives after arrival in Canada with the knowledge that Canada is not their home and that they will return home one day, they do not understand the importance of supporting their children in the present in school program activities. Children have to be their own support systems for a greater portion of their time in those programs. When teachers do not know and understand this factor, once again misunderstandings result in final inaccurate evaluations of the causes of their failure.

G. Assumptions

The above considerations underlie the following assumptions of the study.

1) All teaching should not pre-suppose learning;
2) In any teaching-learning process, the quality of the interpersonal relationship may be the most significant component for facilitating success at school experiences;
3) A quality interpersonal relationship can occur only when those who interact in the teaching-learning contexts are aware of the intersubjective result of their coming together, with each one's presence affecting the other in various ways;
4) An awareness of the intersubjective nature of relationship requires a high degree of empathy and maturity on the part of educators;
5) Empathy and maturity can only be present in this relationship when an on-going effort is made to reflect on and re-examine the experiences which are offered in the educational process which teachers create for these children in the classroom. These guidelines will be exemplified and elaborated on through a vignette in order

to share the researcher's understanding of their importance in facilitating successful teaching-learning experiences.

H. Questions

To discover what influenced teachers most as they tried to transcend barriers in teaching non-English-speaking immigrant children the following questions were addressed.

1) How do the meanings of these teachers' experiences influence how life and learning are shaped for these children?
2) How do these three teachers establish mutual understanding with these immigrant children and how is such learning recognized?
3) What are the experiences of kindergarten teachers of English-speaking backgrounds who shape the teaching-learning process for non-English-speaking immigrant children in multi-cultural classrooms?
4) What factors are perceived to impede/influence successful social and academic life for non-English-speaking immigrant children in English-speaking multi-cultural classrooms?
5) To what extent does the language of instruction contribute to problems in teaching and learning effectively in multi-cultural classrooms?
6) To what extent do the three kindergarten teachers of English-speaking backgrounds demonstrate the ability or inability to utilize the language and cultural diversity of resources which non-English-speaking immigrant children possess tc help them achieve success at tasks in the classroom?
7) To what extent does the language of instruction and teaching process shape the appropriate or inappropriate frameworks (or models) for defining the meaning of being a competent learner in the multi-cultural classroom?
8) How do these frameworks affect non-English-speaking immigrant children's acquisition of the new cultural understandings of classroom life?

I. The purpose and focus of the study

It was hoped that through this study an attempt would be made to better understand the experience of teachers from English-speaking backgrounds who shape the teaching-learning process for non-English-speaking immigrant children. The influence and meaning of those factors which enhance, and/or impede the development of the children's human potential for learning second-culture concepts will be discussed as they affect life for both teachers and children in the classroom.

The focus of the study will therefore be on the following three areas of life in multi-cultural classrooms:

1) an observation and analysis of the language of teaching (teachers' talk) used to share information with the non-English-speaking immigrant children to help them construct the realities, for example, concepts, values, and norms, in the second-language classroom;
2) an observation and analysis of the dialogue (that is, the verbal and non-verbal communication) among teachers and children to determine teachers' awareness and understanding about the need for non-English-speaking immigrant children to share or obliterate their alternative perspectives of concepts, values and other realities as the children are confronted with the realities of a second-culture classroom;
3) an analysis and discussion of those factors which the principal participants (three teachers of English-speaking backgrounds) identified as most influential in shaping their personal methodologies of teaching non-English-speaking immigrant children.

J. Summary

Teachers and non-English-speaking immigrant children come together from foreign linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The former are expected to create a process which would facilitate successful achievement in the programs which make up that process. However, teachers first have to transcend the human differences among them in the teaching-learning relationship in order to reach the minds of the non-English-speaking immigrant children, as successful learning can only take place through mutual understanding.

Unfortunately, traditional perceptions of how these children learn, and what counts as knowledge in the new learning process sometimes create an illusion for teachers about the complexity of this process. The foregoing factors obliterate the unique differences of these new learners and their needs in the teaching-learning process which is created for them. This makes it most necessary for an on-going conscious effort to reflect on what the teaching process does to each of the new children. Reflection may guarantee a greater understanding of existing traditional processes which view children's differences as deficits. The latter requires the presence of a quality interpersonal relationship where more than the children's linguistic characteristics could be used to measure their potential for successful academic achievement.

Could there be other factors which influence or retard the realization of success in the teaching-learning process for the teachers and non-English-speaking immigrant children? Only by going to those who actually live the experience may we get a better insight into what life is like in the multi-cultural classroom context. The details of a shared experience in three multi-cultural classrooms are described in subsequent chapters.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A. Assimilation Within Multi-cultural Education

Multi-culturalism has a legal basis in Canada (Magsino, 1985). However, it is interpreted in more than one way. This is more so in its application to curriculum development. One interpretation is based on "the assimilation model" (Magsino, 1985). In terms of curriculum, Magsino labels this model "Multi-cultural education as education of the culturally different" (p. 5).

What these models do not explain is the underlying "dominance relation" between the "first" and "second" cultures. What is common to all these variants of multiculturalism is the fact of the assimilation of minority cultures into a majority culture. Yet these models guide provincial and federal policy-making, with respect to setting two guidelines in educational practice and resource allocation. These are

1) "Multiculturalism is a valuative concept..." and

2) "It is policy-oriented: that is, it is prescriptive" (p. 7).

The same author notes that

> Assuming that the (heritage) cultural identity being preserved does not contradict such values, any conception of multiculturalism that ignores ethnic identity is to a corresponding degree not acceptable. Thus, a conception of multiculturalism intended eventually to eliminate cultural diversity is in itself a contradiction (p. 7).

The conclusion is that "assimilation policy is antimulticultural ...." The author recognizes the possibility of a new model that may integrate aspects of the existing models of multiculturalism.

Whereas the assimilationist theory seeks, through schooling, to ensure and perpetuate the status quo, including the maintenance of perceived desirable social structures and values of the dominant majority, the integrationist model attempts to do the reverse. That is, it attempts to facilitate an educational approach under which the teacher is constantly motivated to seek and use a variety of pedagogical strategies and activities, to meet the needs of a variety of clients, for a variety of reasons. This approach takes the position that those in the interactive situation of teaching and learning can best undertake their tasks in this context, when the backgrounds of individuals' past, including their culture and traditions are identified and understood. There is therefore a striving for minority children to re-interpret, but not to forget their past experiences of the world. Consequently, these children experience in the present, both a maintenance and transitional goal in re-defining a new cultural identity. Where they have come from is acknowledged as a link in the process which would take them where they are going. The ultimate objective of the integrationist theory therefore implies the need to recognize, accept and value others who are different. At the same time, it strives to perceive minority differences as such, not as deficiencies. It strives to maximize individual human resources instead of imposing perceived desirable, dominant, mono-cultural expectations on everyone. The function of education conceptualized in this theory places emphasis on bridge-building for cultural and linguistic differences and the different ways of perceiving what is to be known in a new culture. In this way, the integrationist model initiates and continues to render obsolete the "monolithic" model of an assimilationist approach to education and societal chances available to non-English-speaking immigrant children. The integrationist model suggests that differences should not assume that those who do not share the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of one's own group (the dominant group) are strange, or wrong, or deficient (Hoopes, 1983).

B. Intersubjectivity And Learning

Inherent in any quality interpersonal relationship which is necessary for successful learning is the concept of an intersubjective experiencing of the Other (Schutz, 1964). The notion of intersubjectivity basically subscribes to the importance of seeking to acknowledge in our consciousness, one's relationship with those we share the spaces of our world. This perspective contributed by Husserl (1970) referred to this notion as

> "an indefinite plurality of subjects that stand in a relation of 'mutual understanding'. The intersubjective world as the correlate of intersubjective experiences, mediated through empathy ....
>
> Empathy gives unity to the separate manifolds belonging to the different personal subjects and streams of consciousness" (Schutz, 1970, p.30).

Schutz (1964), discussed the notion of intersubjectivity on a more pragmatic level, maintaining the underlying importance of acknowledging the "Other" in our consciousness through a relationship defined as "We" and not "Us-Them". In the former relationship, Schutz suggests that,

> ... the realization of the correspondence and divergence of the meaning of our experiences originates (p.31).

As a result,

> The community of the world within reach of our experiences in the We-relation enables (us) to verify constantly the results of (our) interpretation of other men's experiences (p.31).

As such, the world which both teachers and children inhabit together for the first time no longer is one or the other's exclusive experience. Rather, it becomes a world within each other's reach. Each individual's experience thereby becomes a shared one and creates the origin of new and "continuously confirmed" knowledge. This in turn sets up a process of on-going discovery and/or re-discovery of experiences based on personal meaning.

The foregoing elaboration of the notion of intersubjectivity is considered necessary if teachers of children from various ethnic backgrounds are to be capable of facilitating a humanizing and personalizing process for learning. The obvious and basic ingredient in this definition is -- *empathy*, without which the learning process may be based on stereotyped perceptions of the minority learner in the second culture classroom. The need to know the previous experiences of the "Other", the desirability of not taking for granted the subjective experiences of the "Other", and the importance of adopting an empathic attitude towards the "Other" may be some of the most positive alternatives in order for teachers and children to experience a growing and maturing in successful learning.

C. The Model

Several studies have generated different models of teaching English-as-a-second-language successfully to speakers of languages other than English (Berryman, 1984; Brown, 1980; Harvey, 1980; Perron, 1979). Other studies have generated warnings that without the cultural background information, people including teachers, would find it difficult to get their ideas across to those who are not part of the target culture (Ashworth, 1984; Irving, 1984; Yalden, 1984).

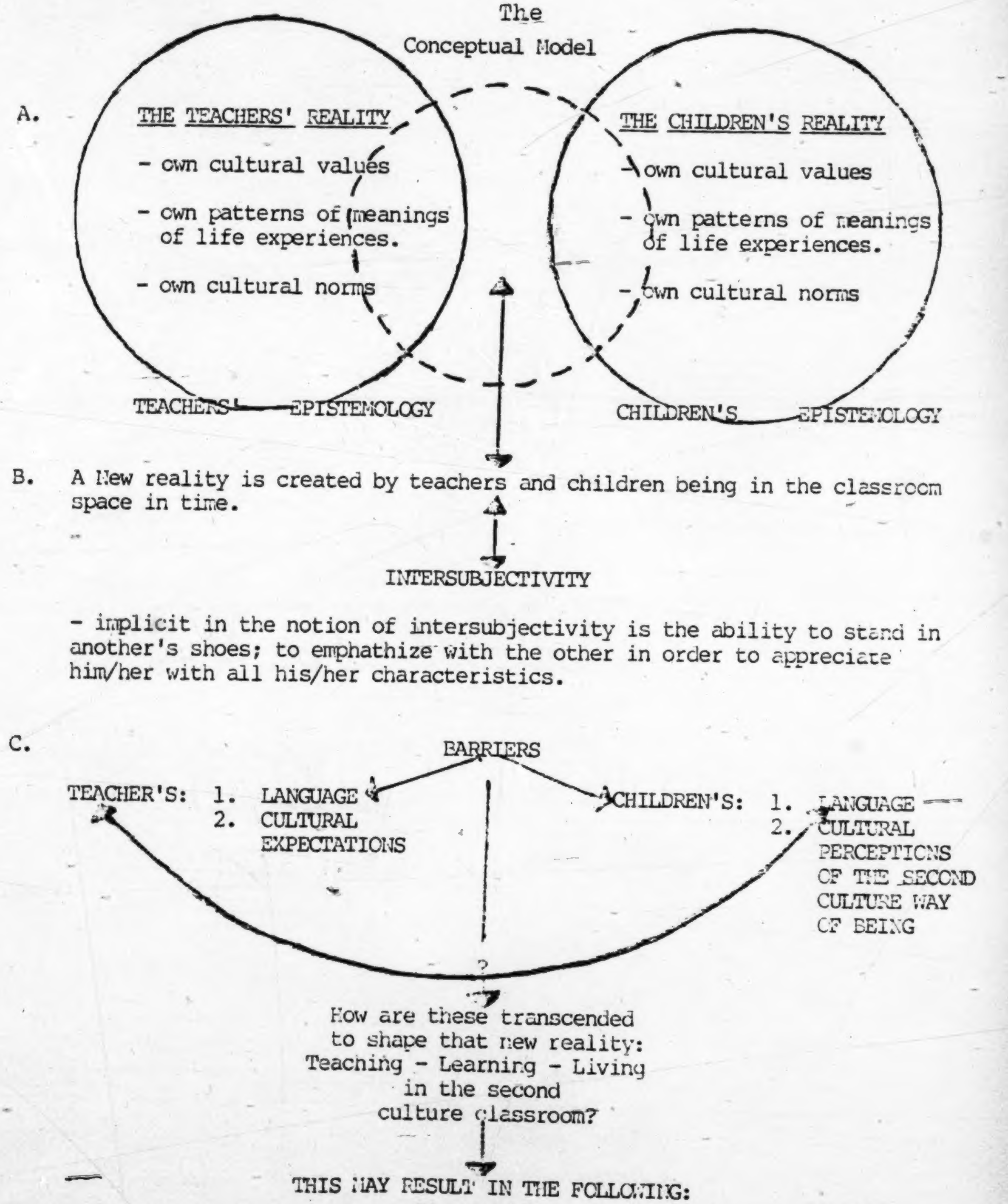
The underlying emphasis of the foregoing studies which contributed invaluable information for ensuring more effective teaching-learning results in second-language classrooms, was on viewing the process of teaching and learning from a primarily cognitive-affective view. In this study it will be contended that if non-English-speaking immigrant children are to learn more successfully, life in the second-culture classroom has to be viewed beyond a cognitive-affective definition of teaching and learning and must include a social dimension. This is necessary since non-English-speaking children are required to do much more than learn how to acquire the second-language skills as part of becoming competent students. They also have to learn from the first day how to engage in the process of attitudinal reconstruction and cultural transition in the second-language classroom and how to live up to the second-culture expectations of their new teachers and English-speaking peers. In attempting to figure these things out, these children are actually attempting to learn and understand more than a second language for learning second-culture classroom content. They are attempting to understand the components of a social framework for appropriate behaviours required for one to function competently as a total person in the second-culture context. The point to be noted in this given situation is that learning in the second-culture classroom requires developing and ultimately demonstrating the " social style appropriate to each particular context, in addition to acquiring the academic material" (Good, 1983). These initial but crucial tasks would therefore define the nature of the teaching and learning process especially for non-English-speaking immigrant children in kindergarten classrooms as one where the social aspects of acquiring new knowledge would be as important, or even more important than the instructional, academic, and/or cognitive content. This definition would imply taking a much broader view of the education process which is shaped for non-English-speaking immigrant children in the multi-cultural classroom. This study will take that broader social view of education, and/or the teaching-learning process.

With the exception of studies and investigations such as that done by The Work Group on Multicultural Programs (1984), research on education viewed from this broad social definition has hardly been explored with regards to non-English-speaking immigrant children in the Canadian multi-cultural kindergarten context. Consequently, two missing links exist in research studies which relate to educating the new Canadian, especially those with language backgrounds which are neither English nor French. These are as follows:

1) An empirical understanding of the ease or dilemmas which characterize the daily life of the kindergarten teacher from an English-speaking background as s/he attempts to shape the education process for non-English-speaking immigrant children is lacking from either the teachers' or childrens' view of that life. Without an understanding of the factors which facilitate such ease, or dilemmas, in shaping the education process in the multi-cultural context, teachers and students will continue to underachieve in the total sense of the function of education: to help students to "be more than what they were" when they entered school (Ashworth, 1984).
2) Very little is also known about how these beginners acquire the new culture, or social order, through the education processes shaped for them. An examination of how this is done through verbal and non-verbal, face-to-face interaction in the multi-cultural classroom may reveal the differences between what teachers perceive their education processes should do, and what is done to these children as they engage in the process of cultural transition and attitudinal re-construction.

The following conceptual model design was used to delineate the problem as the researcher perceived it.

The Conceptual Model



A.

THE TEACHERS' REALITY

- own cultural values
- own patterns of meanings of life experiences.
- own cultural norms

TEACHERS' EPISTEMOLOGY

THE CHILDREN'S REALITY

- own cultural values
- own patterns of meanings of life experiences.
- own cultural norms

CHILDREN'S EPISTEMOLOGY

B. A New reality is created by teachers and children being in the classroom space in time.

INTERSUBJECTIVITY

- implicit in the notion of intersubjectivity is the ability to stand in another's shoes; to emphathize with the other in order to appreciate him/her with all his/her characteristics.

C.

BARRIERS

TEACHER'S:
1. LANGUAGE
2. CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS

CHILDREN'S:
1. LANGUAGE
2. CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE SECOND CULTURE WAY OF BEING

?

How are these transcended to shape that new reality: Teaching - Learning - Living in the second culture classroom?

THIS MAY RESULT IN THE FOLLOWING:

Figure 1.

1) Teachers' may be unable to empathize or put themselves in the children's shoes, and vice versa to perceive each others' world in order to understand how best to shape the new reality.
2) Teachers' inability to evaluate themselves in this "WE" relationship in order to determine the effect this new reality has on enhancing or stifling total development in the non-English-speaking children.
3) Teachers may therefore experience many conflicts about how effectively they play their roles as facilitators of learning for these children.
4) It was also suspected that evaluation of these children's potential for learning will therefore be irrelevant or inconsistent with what and how teachers teach and what and how children learn.

D. Summary

The initial process for non-English-speaking immigrant children in the second-culture classroom is analogous to "being born again", and having to learn to "be" in a manner acceptable to second-culture expectations. For teaching and learning to be effective in this context, education has to be perceived from a much broader framework than at present. Education, and/or the teaching-learning process has to be viewed primarily from a social perspective, in addition to an academic perspective; the former being stressed over the latter.

Non-English-speaking immigrant children are faced with the task of learning a new culture; its values, its expectations; what is valued as legitimate knowledge, and how a competent learner is defined. Teaching-as-usual over time has not worked to minimize the dilemmas which the teachers from English-speaking backgrounds encounter as they try to shape the process of acculturation for these children. Traditional evaluative strategies based primarily on linguistic competence often overlooked other resources which the new minority language learner brought to the classroom. This may be due in part to the teachers' inadequate preparation to cope with the multi-cultural dimension which is an ongoing fact of the Canadian classroom life.

If the question of why it is that so many minority language children do not achieve greater success in the education system is to be answered, then a closer look has to be taken at the life which teachers and such children share in the multicultural classroom. Specific attention needs to be paid to how these children's presence and their diverse language and cultural backgrounds affect the teachers' professional and social self and vice versa. Attention also has to be paid to the relevance of the language of teaching, material resources and activity goals which are used to shape the life experienced in this education context.

III. RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter will attempt to discuss an amalgam of relevant literature which addresses the following crucial issues related to the problem.

1) a) teaching new Canadian non-English-speaking children in the English Canadian education system;
   b) on what is learned in schools generally, and with specific reference to Canadian education systems;
   c) non-English-speaking immigrant children learning to cope with the acculturation process, through the education systems in a second culture.
2) Those differences which non-English-speaking immigrant children bring to the second-culture classroom, and which were identified by English-speaking kindergarten teachers in the Pre-Study activity as factors which impede their experiencing more success at the second-culture academic programs will be discussed in relation to the three categories of literature outlined above.

The literature discussion will focus on the idea that it is important to learn about the cultural backgrounds and differences represented in multi-cultural classrooms to experience more effective teaching and learning in this context.

Sometimes, traditional perceptions of phenomena cloud alternative perceptions of these phenomena. As such, traditional factors, traditional expectations and traditional definitions of teaching may influence the full realization of success for non-English-speaking immigrant children. Canada continues to be an immigration recipient of families from countries in political and economic turmoil. Because of this political situation and because the immigrant family is destined to play an integral part in changing the status of the social, economic, cultural and linguistic growth and development of the future Canadian society, some urgent considerations for a review of aspects of life in multi-cultural education contexts are needed. A deeper understanding of how the diverse language and cultural background resources of non-English-speaking immigrant children affect the professional and other everyday life of their English-speaking teachers, and vice-versa is also needed to understand the dilemmas, or ease, with which teaching and learning are defined in such contexts. These understandings may reinforce the need to redefine the nature of the education process for more effective, quality teaching and learning experiences through which children can acquire the new culture in which they are expected to become competent participants. It is hoped that this study is a step in the direction of acquiring such understandings.

A. The Language Difference Factor in Related Literature

The language difference factor was identified by teachers in the pre-study activity of this work as having the greatest influence on what the teaching-learning process would be in the multi-cultural classroom. This factor, in relation to the amount of time that was available for non-English-speaking immigrant children to learn the 'basics' of the kindergarten second-culture content, influenced some teachers' decision to adopt traditional teaching methods that emphasized skills which the school perceived as important for later concept learning. In spite of the models and suggestions of components for helping English-speaking teachers to teach English-as-a-second-language to second-language learners with greater ease, the concerns which the teachers shared about the language difference factor as a problem in these children's future learning indicated two things. First, the teachers' primary concern was with their "teaching through oral English, and children learning through that mode : language which begins and will always be foreign to them. Little or no interest was paid to how the language which these children brought functioned to make them competent in their original culture. Secondly, little concern was shown for how teachers could attempt to endorse any other mode of communication which could bridge those perceived gaps which existed in the children's ability to demonstrate their competence for learning the second-culture concepts.

This cannot be held against these teachers, as research findings indicate that similar concerns have been identified in English-speaking teachers who are confronted by speakers of languages, other-than-English in classrooms elsewhere (Ashworth, 1984; Brown, 1980; Harvey, 1980; Rosen & Burgess, 1980). In a way some of the teachers in the Pre-Study perceived the children's language differences as a potential which facilitated some weaknesses in the teaching-learning process. This perception is by no means a point for labelling them ineffective in helping non-English-speaking immigrant learners to be more competent in the development of classroom knowledge. Also, these teachers are not the only ones with this nature of perception of language differences as a deficit in these children's learning.

Rosen and Burgess (1980) indicate that in London, England, teachers who were confronted with children from diverse language and cultural backgrounds and who were inadequately prepared to teach towards the needs of such children had similar responses. Rosen and Burgess describe these teachers' responses to minority language diversity in their classrooms in the following way.

> Many of us when we first encountered this new diversity resolved all questions in a simple and, as it seemed to us then, in a credible fashion. Those children who could not speak English or who were still beyond doubt in the early stages of learning it were somebody else's business. The English-as-a-second-language teachers would give them sufficient mastery of English to equip them to enter the English-as-a-mother-tongue classroom. Once there, they would be essentially no different from other pupils in the classroom. Business as usual. As for those boys and girls speaking a dialect of English which we found difficult to understand, like a Caribbean creole, perhaps they too should undergo some special treatment which would convert them into speakers of British English? In any case, given enough time, they would soon pick up the habits of the natives. They would be no better or worse then their fellow-pupils, speakers of a variety of London English or Birmingham English or Bradford English (p. 7).

Looking back on those responses Rosen and Burgess declare that "we can see now how sanguine we were, though there were, of course, honourable exceptions" (p. 7). Perren (1979) reflected on similar teacher responses in other English classroom situations. He declared that such attitudes reflected that the

> sole concern was with teaching English. Little or no interest was taken in the language and dialects they already possessed (p. 9).

Rosen and Burgess also recall that,

> If language variety was a matter of significant concern it tended to be focussed on differences of attainment or supposed differences of potential problems believed to derive from vernacular speech (p. 7).

These researchers have also declared that such responses to language diversity in the multi-cultural classroom have "changed dramatically" over the space of twenty years in

Britain, as a result of several research contributions to the development of a more appropriate and "highly developed second-language curriculum area with its own literature and specialists" (p. 136). In the absence of the above-mentioned resources, teachers' claims to language diversity as a problem which affected the teaching-learning process negatively were supported in the following way.

> They were not equipped, nor could they reasonably be expected to be equipped, with a knowledge of the dozens of languages expected to improve strategies, materials and the kind of teaching now required of schools. With some justification, they could declare it was not their business (p. 8).

However, Rosen and Burgess identified that gradually, "an inexorable educational logic obliged more and more of such teachers to abandon" their perceptions of language diversity (or differences) as a negative influence on what is to be learned in schools. Through one phase of their collaborated research they reported that when the teachers' focus, as well as the focus of other school personnel, were directed on what underlay the diversity of the minority languages represented in their classrooms, negative concerns were turned in to enthusiasm in accommodating these diversities in ways which each school's resources were capable of supporting. Rosen and Burgess reported that one school concluded that: "linguistic diversity was, if handled imaginatively, a potentially rich curriculum resource, and that language diversity of all kinds could be the core of language study" (p. 119).

One of the realities of the educational logic which generated change in teachers' perceptions in Rosen and Burgess' survey was that the representation of vastly different languages other-than-English in classrooms is there to stay. This is a "long term reality" according to the Bullock Report, H.M.S.O, (1975). This can also be said of the situation in the Canadian multi-cultural classroom. As such, it is bound to affect the ways in which teachers think and act towards shaping teaching-learning processes in multi-cultural classrooms. They also suggest that where such linguistic diversity exists, "All teachers need to work out the implications but perhaps no one more than the mother tongue teachers of English" (p. 10).

This is especially so since,

> In the end all pupils arrive in their classrooms, so that they (the teachers)

> are obliged to concern themselves not so much with the needs of special sub-groups but with how all the pupils with all their diversity will interact and how they should change their teaching to ensure that this interaction will be positive, enriching and educative.

Throughout Rosen and Burgess' findings two implications for the way language diversity was perceived were pointed out. One was, that when language diversity was acknowledged, endorsed and sought to be understood as a resource to be used for relevant curriculum development, perceived barriers which such diversities create were transcended. Also when an understanding of the resources which underlay language diversity is acquired, a positive starting point for more effective, quality teaching processes will be shaped for the children. Their language diversity will be perceived as a significant contribution to their own learning processes. In other words, when their subjective experiences in the form of the different language resources are more willingly utilized by teachers for their own learning about alternative resources, their teaching-learning processes will be more successful for non-English-speaking immigrant children.

The other implication represented the converse of that discussed above. Here Rosen and Burgess argue that where teachers continue to perceive language diversity in a narrow way, only as differences in form to that of the language of instruction, serious pedagogical complications may arise. For example, a narrow view of this phenomenon will sustain the lack of understanding of the nature of the resources which underlay such language diversity. This in turn leads to serious evaluative judgements of the potential of children, who bring such diversity, to be successful at second culture concept learning. Each finding, in short supported a particular attitude to language diversity.

On the Canadian scene, the latter of Rosen and Burgess' findings supports those which Seligman, Tucker and Lambert, (1979) found in Montreal. The underlying finding here was that certain features of teachers' attitudes and/or expectations can a play a crucial role in the determination of children's academic success. Seligman et al report that "Spoken language, for example, has been found to exert a major influence on a listener's impression of a speaker's personality" (p. 131).

In their study, Seligman et al examined some of the clues which teachers use to form attitudes toward students. Photographs, speech samples, drawings and compositions obtained from Grade III boys were used to elicit the subjective impressions of 19 upper year, female education students completing their work at a teachers' college in Montreal. All teachers had previous experience as student-teachers, and intended to enter the teaching profession after graduation. The independent variables for determining the intelligence of the children were voice (good and poor), photograph (good and poor), and drawing and composition considered together (good and poor). The results of this study indicated that the boys with good voices were always evaluated significantly more favourably than those with poor voices. In this case, poor voices included different dialectical accents. Not only were they judged to be more intelligent, more privileged, and better students, but they were also seen as being more enthusiastic, self-confident and gentle. Furthermore, the boys who looked intelligent, that is, those with good photographs, were considered to be significantly better students, more privileged and more self-confident than the boys who looked unintelligent. Those boys who had written a good composition and made a good drawing were perceived to be significantly more intelligent, better students and more enthusiastic than those whose drawings and compositions were poor. Seligman et al concluded that, as in previous studies, such as Labov's (1966) and Brown's (1969),

> speech appeared to act as a conspicuous indicator of a speaker's ethnic, cultural or social-class group; and it apparently evoked those stereotypes which the listener feels were appropriate to the group so represented (p. 131).

As a result of their findings, Seligman et al warn that

> Perhaps too many educators believe that our schools are places where capable students can succeed, regardless of their physical difference, racial origins or social class. From personal experiences of various sorts, this belief may be questionable (p. 131).

The findings of the above study reinforce the need for teachers of children from language diverse backgrounds to understand the nature of the resources which underlay those languages as a way of minimizing the chances of demonstrating negative attitudes to children who use those languages. Understanding how those languages function in helping children to create their own bridges from their own cultural understandings of school life to those of the new culture through classroom content, cannot be acquired through "teaching-as-usual" (Irving, 1984) in the multi-cultural classroom. Consequently, successful learning cannot be achieved by non-English-speaking immigrant children through the usual manner of teaching through the verbal mode of English in such classrooms. Several researchers of Canadian education contexts support the two above suggestions for a number of reasons.

Irving (1984) recognizes that when non-English-speaking immigrant children arrive in the English-speaking Canadian classroom, the kindergarten teacher has to make a link among children's original communicative competence and what has to be learnt in the second-culture through a language which also has to be learned. Irving contends that traditional teacher education programs encourage the teacher to deal more with linguistic than with the cultural differences which children's languages represent. Unfortunately, it is the cultural differences rather than the linguistic, which cause a breakdown in the teaching-as-usual process in the multi-cultural classroom. This in turn leads to cross-cultural misunderstandings and consequently misjudgements of children's ability to learn successfully. Teaching for successful learning in this situation therefore has to rely less heavily on the verbal English medium for getting ideas across successfully to these children. Instead, more use has to be made of the non-verbal clues and behaviours which these children demonstrate. Irving suggests that non-verbal clues would reflect these children's cultural ways of responding to learning situations, ideas, and/or content. Knowing how to use these cues in shaping the teaching-learning process for these children would therefore facilitate the use of more than linguistic competence which children do not have in the language of instruction. Irving contributes that the teachers of speakers-of-languages-other-than-English, must remember that although they may necessarily have to desist from using as much verbal communication in English to get their ideas across, "in any social context, although it is possible not to speak, it is impossible _not_ to communicate" (p. 140).
Teaching as communication of what needs to be learnt successfully in the second-culture multi-cultural classroom, is therefore possible through other modes which

these children also bring and which can be matched with non-verbal modes of communication which teachers can use. If teaching in the learning context assumes alternative modes of sharing ideas, then non-English-speaking immigrant children would be guaranteed adequate time and ease in which to acquire the second language and second-culture understandings which are communicated through the teachers' language of instruction. Irving warns that such time and ease are necesary ingredients if second-language learners are to experience success at academic programs in multi-cultural classrooms. This time and ease are necessary, according to Irving, as learning to communicate in a new culture requires more than the acquisition of a new language. She suggests that, acquiring a new language is not without learning the culture. Teachers have to accommodate the cultural backgrounds of children, through the cultural cues they demonstrate during interactive contexts, even as they share the cultural cues which define competence in the second culture. This accommodation could provide one form of bridge building over children's original cultural frames of references of classroom reality, to the new frame of reference in the second-culture classroom. According to Irving, this initial change of approach to shaping the teaching-learning process in the multi-cultural classroom can set the stage for acquiring the second-language and second-culture understandings with greater confidence and ease since the form of acquisition is a very tall order for the new learners. Irving expresses the new learners' task of learning the second-language and culture in the following way:

> Learning to communicate in a new culture means learning what say (words, phrases, meanings, structure), who to say it to (role perception, status, hierarchies), who you are (self-concept), how to say it (affective components, non-verbal cues, intonation and stress) (p. 140).

Irving reminds us that

> We learn to do these things in our native language without thinking about the complexity of the issues involved. But when we are teaching students to communicate in a second-culture, we must first be aware ourselves and then make our students aware of the complexities of communicating interculturally (p. 140).

If all of the above are necessary in the process of non-English-speaking immigrant children becoming competent and successful in the multi-cultural classroom, then teaching cannot be "as usual" in this educational context. Irving's contributions reinforce the view that in the contexts of the multi-cultural classroom, teaching has to be defined more as a social than an instructional event for those who do not share the same language and cultural backgrounds and perceptions of the world.

Berryman (1984) supports Irving's contributions. He also adds that it is more important for learners in a second-culture to acquire the pre-requisites in more basic human needs before they can become competent at acquiring and demonstrating any other skills in this context. Berryman suggests that abilities, or need-fulfillment which should precede the skills which could be measured by formal or informal achievement tests are, for example, security, self-esteem and empathy. Berryman examined the idea that "self-esteem is an important variable in second language acquisition and in the new cultural environment, especially insofar as immigrant children are concerned. In his examination of the importance of the self-esteem variable in the acquisition of the prerequisites for the non-English-speaking immigrant children to experience successful cognitive and/or affective knowledge, Berryman's findings supported similar findings of Bhatnagar (1976), Brown (1980) and Cummins (1976). In the case of Bhatnagar, who examined the self-esteem levels of immigrant children entering English-speaking Canadian classrooms, it was found that "immigrant children's attainment at school (was) considerably less than that of children of the indigenous population" (p. 66). Bhatnagar also suggested

> that immigrant children in Canada frequently suffer from feelings of inferiority, insecurity, and loneliness, and that confusion about the Canadian culture often makes them objects of ridicule to their peers (p. 66).

Bhatnagar further concluded that

> It is this lack of social acceptability that appears to be one of the prime reasons for lower self-concept among immigrant children (p. 66).

Both Berryman and Bhatnagar agree that immigrant children enter the Canadian school system with high, medium, and low self-esteem, which were determined by social and cultural influences elsewhere. However, they also found that if the new cultural environment did not nurture the self-esteem brought by these children, the initial culture shock of the new environment can create devastating effects on the emotional and psychological aspects of their future all round development. If the effects of such culture shock are not responded to with empathy and understanding from teachers, then it would be almost impossible for the beginning second-language learners to become "well-adjusted to their new cultural environment" (Berryman, 1984). Berryman based his definition of a well-adjusted person on Bhatnagar's (1976) description of such a person as,

> one who can deal effectively with his/her environment through having an objective self-concept, is socially accepted, is personally satisfied, and is free from anxiety (p. 66).

Teaching to help non-English-speaking immigrant children become well-adjusted persons based on Bhatnagar's description which he suggests is crucial for cognitive-affective success in the new cultural learning environment, has to be defined beyond a cognitive framework.

Cummins (1986) found that new minority language immigrants bring the factor of confidence in their understanding and appropriateness of how their first language functioned to help them make sense of their heritage culture. Cummins refers to this first language as L1. The language of the second culture he refers to as L2. Both Cummins and Berryman agree that immigrant children enter the new cultural environment with degrees of confidence in their L1. They also agree that the L1 development will have a significant effect on the development of confidence in L2. Cummins observes however that the wrong attitude towards children's L1, whether we intend it or not, can lead to children developing more fear of "feeling safe and secure to be oneself" (p. 6). Attitudes of parental ambivalence to the target or second language, or teachers' stereotyped perceptions of children's language as a problematic factor in their academic achievement also leads to the development of fear of feeling safe and secure in the new cultural environment. According to Cummins (1976) then, the pre-requisites of acquiring a second-language and second-culture competence in the new cultural environment have to be nurtured through the accommodation of a broader than cognitive, or instructional approach to shaping the teaching-learning process in the multi-cultural environment. Rather, an attitude of accepting, accommodating and endorsing the functional importance of the language styles and the self-esteem and self-confidence which those styles produce in these children is more important at the kindergarten level of the education system.

Berryman's support of Brown's (1980) contributions to the importance of the self-esteem factor in second-language learners' academic achievement also underscores the need for English-speaking teachers to shape the teaching-learning process in a different-than-usual manner in the multi-cultural classroom. Brown (1980) contributes that,

> It could easily be claimed that no successful cognitive or affective activity can be carried out without some degree of self-esteem, self-confidence, knowledge of yourself, and belief in your own capabilities for that activity (p. 103).

Brown describes three levels of self-esteem in an effort to show that if the lowest level of such self-esteem is affected by the negative attitudes of significant Others in the classroom, the higher levels of self-esteem will also be affected, often with irreversible effects. Brown's description of the levels of self-esteem are as follows:

1) Global self-esteem, which is relatively stable in a mature adult, and is resistant to change except by extended therapy;
2) Specific self-esteem, referring to one's appraisals of oneself in certain life situations, such as education, or on certain relatively defined traits as communicative ability or empathy;
3) Task self-esteem, which relates to particular tasks within specific situations, such as particular subject-matter areas as second language acquisition or a particular aspect of the process as reading or writing (p. 104).

Berryman suggests that

> Frequently, the immigrant child in the new culture, is in the process of re-evaluating and re-definition of self. This process must be empathetically understood by the learner's significant others if self-actualization (Maslow), or self-enhancement (Rogers, 1964) or, wholesome adjustment (Bhatnagar, 1973), are to be attained (p. 12).

All of the above contributions confirm that minority language immigrant children who enter the new cultural learning environment are more engaged in the achievement of skills and other pre-requisites which allow one to function more appropriately socially, than academically. The children's need to feel secure, safe, confident, and to experience growth in self-esteem and, consequently their self-concept demonstrates a consistency with Maslow's (1970) contribution to the process of becoming self-actualized at every level of human development. According to Maslow, each of the pre-requisites of self-esteem listed above is necessary to fulfill the lower hierarchy of needs, before needs at a higher level of this self-actualization hierarchy process, such as cognitive-academic achievement, could be satisfied. These contributions consequently confirm that the process of teaching and learning has to be constructed from a broad social view. In this way, whatever influences the way English-speaking kindergarten teachers shape that process has to include actions and verbalizations which would make non-English-speaking immigrant children more adept in the milieu of the second-culture classroom. If education and/or the teaching-learning process for these children is viewed in a broader social context, then the perception of their language diversity would no longer be identified as a problematic factor in their successful achievement in the multi-cultural classrooms.

Yalden (1984) made some observations on the last point above while delivering a paper on "Language teaching in a multicultural environment". He contributes that when a narrow view of children's L1 is adopted and similarly responded to, English-speaking teachers are intentionally, or unintentionally communicating a preference for (or belief) in support of a type of linguistic expectation for second-language learners. That support is for the English language as the preferred means through which learning in general may be facilitated. He observes that this preference also supports "one of the commonest of human fallacies with respect to language" (p. 19). That fallacy is, "that communication blockages or differences between people would virtually disappear if we all used but one tongue" (p. 19). This fallacy is also referred to by Solomon (1981) and Irving (1984) who assure us that one language among communicators does not necessarily mean that mutual understanding can be certain. Yalden supports a more positive approach towards helping non-English-speaking immigrant children enhance their self-esteem and ability for future concept-learning through nurturing, and "supplementing, not supplanting" their L1 a bridge towards successful development of social and academic competence in the second culture classroom. Yalden suggests that

> When the education system does not provide (children) with a bridge over the gap between their current level of English (or other language) and

that required to function in a classroom appropriate to their age (p. 19), then the system actually contributes towards the destruction of a concrete foundation on which to build what seems to them initially as quite abstract: that is, a new language and cultural understandings. Yalden implies that to contribute to the destruction of one's language, simultaneously contributes to the destruction of one's native culture, another concrete base from which to begin the building of a new cultural identity. Yalden extends this implication in the following way :

> The destruction of one's culture, the loss of one's language, often called the "lifeline to the past", results in a loss of dignity and self-respect. If no value is placed on the child's heritage handed down through the family, then obviously little value is placed on the child, and not all the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic compensate for a lack of self-respect.

The subsequent point which Yalden makes through the above statement is that while

> Education is important in any modern nation, -- there must be concern not just for giving education to all children, but also for the manner in which it is given.

Through the above warning, Yalden, like Bhatnagar (1976), Cummins (1976), Brown (1980) and Berryman (1984) contributes toward the suggestion that teachers make an effort to provide the kind of education, or teaching-learning situations which will incorporate the total human resources which children bring to those situations for future human development. The approaches for teaching in a traditional, skill oriented manner cannot continue if successful development of such resources is to take place. Instead the concept of change in many aspects of the 'teaching-as-usual' approach has to be structured for quality effective teaching of such children in multi-cultural contexts. Change has to affect for example, (1) what is defined in school as worthwhile knowledge at the kindergarten level, (2) what criteria define a competent student in the second culture context, and (3) how educators equate what they do with what the system or school ought to do for every child, regardless of language and/or cultural background. Batcher (1984) suggests that professional educators in the Canadian education system seem to have a specific view of (1), (2) and (3) stated above. This view primarily adds up to the outcome, that each child should manage the academic workload. This view holds serious implications for what has to be known by non-English-speaking immigrant children in the English-speaking multi-cultural classroom. One of these implications is that a stereotyped view of the diversity of the resources which children from different language and cultural backgrounds bring to the multi-cultural classroom will be perpetuated as problems, rather than assets for a more global view of education, curriculum and knowledge. Examples of stereotyping children on the basis of their differences can be seen in Appendix A.

B. On What is Learned in Schools: The Seeming Lack of Readiness To Learn Second Culture Concepts

Readiness as a state, or behaviour is not mastered separately from the learners' other life experiences (Green, 1971). Readiness is also not an absolute pattern of behavior. Ratherit is a relative behaviour which in fact is socially and culturally contextualized. In the case of the participating teachers, they were unable to communicate verbally at the beginning of the school year with the non-English-speaking immigrant children. Since they did not have an adequate understanding of other cultural cues which could act as predictors of these children's readiness abilities for new concept learning, their perceived lack of this "readiness" factor was based only on the social fact that these children spoke a different language. Consequently, and as Torrey (1969) suggested, the belief was that a different language was inadequate for logical thought in the new learning context. Torrey (1969), Greene (1971), and Kiddie (1978) refute the last stated belief by contributing that all logic is contextualized. As such, through the language which the language minority children arrive with in the second culture classroom, their ability to think logically in the context of their heritage culture had been adequately functional. Torrey points out that many minority children enter the second culture classroom "to find their experience disvalued and discounted" (p. 15). As such, teachers perceived these children, (for the most part due to the teachers' lack of understanding of these children's world) as bodies "to be filled with knowledge, rather than as experienced participants in a way of life that has its own validity" (p. 15).

Greene (1971) describes this view of knowing, or knowledge of how to be competent for what the school offers as

> a structure of socially prescribed knowledge .... external to the knower, there to be mastered, learned, rather than a possibility for them (the learners) as existing person(s), mainly concerned with making sense of (their) life-world (p. 32).

Kiddie (1978) supports Greene (1971) and Torrey (1969) in the view that children's potential for learning cannot be justly determined outside the context of the other circumstances of their lives. He consequently supports the need for a change in the manner in which teachers perceive and respond to the resources which children bring to the classroom. Kiddie suggests that one of the first steps towards a new perception of what educators and the education system should do with the heritage resources (language, culture, behaviours) which the minority language children bring is to go beyond the "bridge-building concept" of acknowledging these resources. Kiddie discounts the way in which current "bridge building" attempts to utilize these resources, in the following way :

> More frequent is the bridging concept: that 'minority' cultures should be respected to the degree that they can be used to get the children into the mainstream culture the school is concerned to transmit. That is, most children's experience and many people's way of life is to be seen as inadequate and of limited value. The justification for this lies in the cultural deprivation thesis: that these cultures are unable to provide members with the conceptual tools for comprehending the 'bodies' or 'forms' of knowledge which have historically come to count as school knowledge. (p. 15)

This type of acknowledgement, and accommodating of heritage resources is inadequate for the full development of the children's potential for learning. Kiddie's warning highlights the need for a re-examination of the influences of teachers' own cultural and traditional perceptions of what the nature of and appropriate, effective education process should be for 'minority' children. In this warning Kiddie supports a direction for change already stated and supported by other researchers in the pages above. That is, that just as 'teaching-as-usual' or teaching in the "natural way" in the English-speaking multi-cultural classroom is inadequate for minority language children to experience success, similarly, the 'expectations' held for the children in the second culture to be categorized as competent learners has to be consistent with the total development context of these children's lives. This change reinforces the need for kindergarten teachers confronted with learners whose language and cultural backgrounds do not match theirs, to understand the nature of these children's total original environmental backgrounds in which certain ways of perceiving knowledge have already been shaped. In other words it is necessary to understand the nature of the original social contexts of these children's lives which influenced their competence for learning in their original cultures, if we are to understand how to shape a teaching-learning process for their future development of similar competence.

Genishi (1984) supports teachers' acquisition of such crucial information since she believes that

> The nature of the context itself, and the behaviour of the other participants, as well as the behaviour and interpretations of the individuals, are all important to know about in order to understand how behaviour and development occur (p. 109).

Knowing how to become competent in the second-culture classroom cannot continue to be based on linguistic competence in the English language if non-English-speaking immigrant children are to be helped to succeed at mastering what is to be known. This is especially so since, as Ashworth (1984) puts it,

> Children who do not have full control of the language of instruction are not beginning the race from the same starting line as the English speaking middle-class children of majority group parents (p. 10).

Since non-English-speaking immigrant children fit the description of the late starters in Ashworth's quote, it means that if the criterion for being capable of learning successfully continues to be equated with demonstrable competence in the English language, then the education process itself, and not the alternative, or relative competence brought by these children is the primary source of their inability to succeed. Ashworth (1984) examined the life of "Minorities in Canada: The forces which shape them", and concluded that like any other children in other societies,

> Education is a powerful force in the lives of children (p. 8).

However, Ashworth warns that "Education is good (only) when it makes children more than they were when they entered school, not less" (p. 9).

If, as King (1983) indicates, "Language is ever present, influencing the form and quality of the education experience and the judgements made about children as learners" (p. 170) in the English-speaking classroom, and given that the non-English-speaking immigrant children are initially lacking the competence in English-language performance to be judged as capable learners, then education which firmly upholds linguistic indicators as adequate pre-requisites for knowing cannot be adequate, based on Ashworth's description of the function of a good education in children's lives. Good (1983) contributes to the need for a higher level of appropriateness between the entry competencies which children from culturally different backgrounds bring to the school and the expectations set up for them to establish themselves as competent learners. Good remarks that although the findings of expectation studies of the 60s and 70s (Brophy & Good, 1969; Rosenthal, 1970; Stallings et al, 1977) revealed that teachers' expectations do influence the ultimate performance of students, what children learn is still influenced by the skills and attitudes which teachers perceive students have when they enter school. As such,

> What students learn, how quickly they learn, and how much they remember depends upon their primary language and the academic skills students possess when they enter public school (p. 2).

If teaching is continued in the usual way and teachers' expectations reflect an absolute second culture standard in the education process shaped for non-English-speaking immigrant children, then what are perceived as problem factors in the process for becoming competent learners in the second culture, but which are really superficial, will continue to be identified as the causes of failures experienced by these children. Teachers will thereby continue to shape their education processes under what Ashworth (1984) calls a "current illusion" characteristic of some Canadian education programs for minority students. Ashworth expresses this illusion in the following way.

> Many people today feel all children in Canada get an equal opportunity for a good education, but that is not so. Equal opportunity to sit at a desk, is one thing, but equal opportunity to learn is quite another (p. 9).

Once again, the point is made that a new look has to be taken at the "teaching-as-usual" approach to shaping education, or teaching-learning processes for non-English-speaking immigrant children. An alternative approach to teaching-as-usual which emphasizes the development of academic cognitive skills has to be complemented by the approach of teaching as primarily a social event which is shaped through interactive face-to-face meanings.

Good (1983) declares that all "students experience some discontinuities as they move from home to school" (p. 33). However, where children are from the same language and cultural backgrounds, the chances of minimizing the effects of the home-school discontinuities are less than for culturally different children. Good explains that is so since "the general expectations and process differ radically from what students have experienced" in their heritage culture and home. These expectations and processes for learning, according to Good, are constructed not only from academic or cognitive perceptions, but primarily from the social acceptance standards of the teachers' cultural values. Good observes that social dimensions of school experiences and their effects on the lives of children generate more complexities than are willingly admitted by "sociologists of education, educational psychologists, and curriculum specialists" (p. 5). When this attitude is demonstrated, one of the consequences is that educators attempt to solve complex social dimensions perceived as problems by simple solutions, for example, by sending the minority language learner to an E.S.L. classroom where there is no continuity among content, home language, and school expectations are overlooked. Here, the acquisition of the second language, that is English, is the primary goal of this decision, although teachers may know all the literature which indicates that language learning must be contextually relevant to situational, physical, social and other interactive aspects which shape the need for language use. Here, it is also hoped that the learning of "functional vocabulary" can take place successfully outside of the context of more varied, unique needs for the structures which these children need to get from day to day in the kindergarten classroom. Ironically, helping these children to become more adept in their kindergarten classrooms, through the acquisition of the language of instruction only serves to erode their self-esteeem and self-confidence as it severs them from their heritage language foundation. Good expresses this irony in the following way.

> In their zeal to provide solutions, educators often over-respond to a "problem" so that certain issues are solved but new problems are created by the systematic application of a solution (p. 5).

Readiness behaviours are shaped, or learned in interactive, social situations through verbal and non-verbal behaviours which are interpreted in face-to-face encounters (Good, 1983). If it seems that non-English-speaking immigrant children lack the perceived second culture readiness behaviours, this does not necessarily mean that they cannot learn successfully. The universal behaviours of curiosity, exploring and testing their environment through their senses should be observed to understand what readiness means from these children's cultural references. In this case, other factors may seem more important in influencing how they are helped to learn. For example, the nature of these children's interactive patterns with peers, materials, space and time, and the observation of how their different resources influence these, should exceed the importance of the teachers' wish to teach verbally and/or to make academic evaluative judgements from such verbal bases only. These other factors initially represent what Corsaro (1979) refers to as "access rituals" Understanding these "access rituals" to interpret expectations for competence in the second-culture classroom is strongly supported by Corsaro (1979). This is possible he suggests, by making an effort to adopt an on-going process of reflection of the face-to-face experiences to identify other-than-linguistic potential whereby these children could be made ready for successful achievement in the multi-cultural classroom. In this case, based on Corsaro's suggestion, teaching for learning would consequently entail attention to a greater dimension of events, than to the acquisition of academic skills. This would be more important since the social dimension of teaching-learning events, with specific reference to non-English-speaking immigrant children's continued development, would form the more human foundation on which to successfully build any future learning.

C. Coping with the Acculturation Process for the New Minority Language Immigrant in the Canadian Culture: The Perceived Lack of Second Culture Concepts in Immigrant Children

The third most common factor which teachers in the Pre-Study activity perceived as influencing whether non-English-speaking immigrant children experienced much ease, or many dilemmas in learning in the second culture classroom was, "the perceived lack of relevant second culture concepts" (Pre-Study Teacher Interviews, October, 1983). By second culture concepts, teachers meant, "children's knowledge of their own names; letters of the English alphabet; the names of colours, and how to engage in the writing of the above aspects of content area". Teachers used no non-verbal tests to determine this finding but determined their perception primarily on their previous knowledge based on the children's language differences which they could not penetrate to gain more accurate information. Once again, a preference (or belief)- for a type of expectation for second language students was demonstrated by declaring that these children did not have a specific category of second-culture concepts. In doing this, Solomon (1981) suggests that a "self-sustaining expectation which reinforce and maintain already existing behaviours", at the possible expense of other relative, and/or, alternative concepts which these children acquired through their heritage language and culture also influenced teaching. This response to children's inherited resources for new concept learning is one of the many unconscious strategies which work to also sustain and perpetuate the self-fulfilling prophecy of failure, when one does not fit the characteristic criteria for success perceived by second or majority culture standards. Teaching and learning successfully require some degree of match between expectations and reality (Mock, 1983). Learning a new language is a simultaneous process with learning about a new culture (Desman, 1981). Children who enter into the Canadian culture from vastly different cultural origins therefore also have to go through this simultaneous process before they can competently demonstrate any ability at mastery of concepts which teachers perceived as lacking. Perhaps in their own resources they are capable of demonstrating their knowledge of such concepts. However,

as has already been stated, non-English-speaking immigrant children first need to seek the fulfiliment of basic needs of safety and security in the new environment before they can demonstrate what they do know, or do not know in relation to the second culture concepts. If teaching and learning events are perceived as primarily social events at the stage of entry into the education system, then perhaps, concepts, or knowledge has to be viewed from the framework of subject matter which Wilkinson and Dollagham (1979) label as "Life". This, they suggest, is "the only subject matter for meaningful education". Irving (1984) suggests that in attempting to become competent learners in the second culture, non-English-speaking immigrant children actually go through "a second-childhood-learning to talk", and to understand the meanings of the new life and culture. They are engaged in a human process of growth in which the language, actions by which language is defined, the individuals and the social order (values, norms, beliefs) come together to make "life" in the multi-cultural classroom. In order to ascertain the knowledge they arrive with to aid them in this human growth and development process, the patterns of social-interactive situations provided for these children in the second culture environment, need to be observed and understood relative to the second-culture knowledge and expectations. Wolfgang (1983) supports this strategy in the second-culture learning context since, as he puts it, "out of the non-verbal behaviours that we exhibit our true feelings and our attitudes, we demonstrate much more through talking" (p. 24).
Observations of such attitudes and emotional demonstrations may better indicate what these children are capable of knowing of life --- more than of subject matter which at the initial point of adapting to a new life, becomes quite irrelevant.

Wardhaugh (1984) surveyed literature and other documents relevant to Government policies, and documented perceptions of educators and text book materials which dealt with the "Education of the new Canadian: 1918 and 1981". The text sources used by Wardhaugh, which outlined stereotyped characteristics of the new minority learner in the Canadian education system. In his analysis, Wardhaugh attempted to show that themes and concerns which current policy makers and educators perceive as problem factors in the education of the new minority Canadian are not new at all. Wardhaugh shows that themes and concerns which were generated during the World War II period have persisted in the education process for these new entrants. Some of those themes and concerns which Wardhaugh suggests are still applicable to today's multi-cultural classrooms include,

> *Extreme formalism in classroom management,*
>
> *Mechanism in method as well as management . . . Pupils are bidden to "make a complete statement," even in questions where a complete statement is ridiculous,*
>
> *The ever present lecturer,*
>
> *The text-book enthroned,*
>
> *Too many "don'ts",*
>
> *Too much writing of questions on the board during class hours, with consequent waste of time (Foght, p. 83).*

He also concluded after an honest, hard look at the materials and the process of education for the new minority Canadians that these have not changed to reflect the nature of the needs of the mosaic culture called the Canadian society. Wardhaugh suggests that the above situation may be due primarily to a belief which he states in the following way.

> We are all too apt to confuse change with progress. Certainly there have been many changes, but has there been as much progress? How would you define progress anyway? And what have we not changed, either to our regret or to our benefit? (p. 153)

Wardhaugh points out some of the discrepancies between what seems to have changed as compared with where there has been little progress with regards to shaping life in the new culture and education system for non-English-speaking immigrant children. He declares,

> If we return to 1981 we can see that we have reverted to many of the uncertainties of the mid-nineteenth century regarding "Canadian Identity". As it turned out, the Empire failed us and we failed the Empire. The United States is once again the focus of our love-hate attention. The French, who appeared to have been contained in 1918, are once more a resurgent force, a force with the support of an official federal policy of bilingualism, however unreal such a policy must necessarily be in many respects and with the even

> more potent support of a secessionist-minded government firmly established in Quebec City and interested in carrying out its own version of that great principle of Christian charity -- not "Do as you would be done by" but "Do as you have been done by". We must not forget that Bill 101 was hardly any more Draconian in its intent than a whole variety of measures taken by governments in every other part of Canada at one time or another! And immigrants are still considered within the pattern of the English-French conflict. Note that it was the non-Englishspeaking immigrant to Quebec (and his or her children) who were immediately affected by Bill 101's language provisions.
>
> Actually many of our attitudes toward immigrants have remained largely unchanged throughout the twentieth century. One small example: a book by Edith Ferguson called *Newcomers and New Learning* published in 1966 and dealing with post-World War II immigrants to Toronto has this to say of them:
>
> *Their basic education is low and they have no occupational training. They have been isolated from modern technological society, and their traditions, habits, customs, and modes of living have not changed radically during the past few centuries (p. 2).*
>
> That could have been said in 1916!
>
> We now have a long tradition of treating the "cultural baggage" which immigrants bring with them as some kind of regressive behaviour, deviancy, or even pathology. We have lower expectations than we should: we deliberately provide or do not provide "remedial" programs; we discuss immigrant education as a "problem"; and welcome generation after generation of the myth of the mosaic but sacrifice them to the reality of Porter's "vertical" version. Canadians have failed to come to terms with multiculturalism, cultural pluralism, or the mosaic, call it what you will. It is in practice largely, a slogan, a myth. The realities and difficulties behind it lie almost completely unexamined. But the associated slogans are trotted out regularly on parade to be shouted aloud (p. 153).

Although he acknowledges that teachers, especially teachers of English-as-a-second-language are better trained to teach speakers of other languages than 70-80 years ago, the basic attitudes to preparation in other crucial components of teaching these children more effectively have not changed. Wardhaugh summarizes these observations in the following:

> We think we progress continually, confusing material development with other kinds of advancement. Perhaps in 1981 we are not a terribly long way ahead of 1918 in teaching English-as-a-second-language here in Canada. Many of the problems are just the same. Many of the ideas are recyclings of old ideas. Much of the ideology within which we work is unchanged. Certainly, we are more "professional," whatever that means: certainly, in society discrimination must be covert and jargon-wrapped rather than overt and naked; and certainly, we can believe if we wish that talent and ability are justly rewarded. But if you look seriously at the years 1918 and 1981 they are not very different in many of the things that really matter and we do not seem to have come so far after all: Canada is still recognizably the same country, immigrants are often still treated in much the same suspicious manner, and we have not really changed a great deal the ways in which we go about teaching them the languages of the country to which they have come and one must

suspect too. many of our purposes for doing that teaching (p. 154).

Given that Wardhaugh's observations are accurate, then concern must be directed towards understanding why more positive accounts of the ability of teachers from English-speaking backgrounds to teach non-English-speaking immigrant children more effectively are not indicated in the progress category of education systems. Wardhaugh (1984) identified three major sources of difficulty of immigrant children. These were: language difference; children's cultural disadvantage; children's lack of pre-requisites for understanding school concepts in the second culture. Wardhaugh (1984) observed that the three factors stated above may seem new to teachers when they encounter children whose language and culture are not common with theirs. He suggests, however, that these factors among others which we "tend to see as major and pressing concerns of our profession are not new at all" (p. 141). These factors were identified and have been voiced by educators of new Canadian minority language children since 1916. These three factors were also identified as causal antecedents in past studies which researched the differential aspects of learning by minority children in the middle-class conceptualization of schooling.

Writing on "Multicultural Programs in Toronto Schools", Masemann (1978, 1979) noted "It is evident..., that large numbers of non-English-speaking children have been entering the schools over a period of many years" (p. 31). Here, they tend to adopt English "as their mother tongue (Henripen, 1974, p. 37). Further, the curriculum has emphasized learning through Standard English as the mode of demonstrating legitimate knowledge.

Such program characteristics merely endorse and perpetuate support for the assimilationist model of existing within a majority culture which does not adapt its programs to accomodate the characteristics of _all_ of its children.

Palmer and Troper (1973) noted such perpetuative characteristics in multicultural programs and observed that "the prevailing ideology in Canada prior to World War II" has been "Anglo-confirmity", an ideology based on "the desirability of sustaining British institutions and norms as the established bases for building Canadian

Society".

Such desirability, however, cannot continue to be unquestioned as was the case during that era. This is especially so since when vast numbers of individuals from ethnocultures establish themselves within the majority culture, a greater undesirability to assimilate may result (Ishwaram, 1985). The result of this attitude may be perpetuated in the classroom and consequently affect the well-intentioned pre-defined program outcomes. Consequently, programs which have the implicit goal to expose immigrant children to second-culture experiences which seem to treat such children as "problems" due to the greater issue of immigration may also be inadequate for the development of the human potential of the immigrant children within such programs. Any effort, therefore, whether it is intended or not, that tries to determine the effects of established programs on non-Englishspeaking immigrant children on the basis of their conforming to rules from the Anglo-Canadian perspective supports the concept of assimilation.

In these studies such concerns were explored independently as though they were outside the experiences of the children and their social-historical contexts of living. This seemed to result in findings that such children were deficient in the skills needed for learning in the teaching-learning process (Bereiter, 1979; Bernstein, 1971).

Stubbs (1982) subscribes that an interdependence among linguistic, social and program factors may reveal more accurately how both teachers and children experience life in the multi-cultural context. This implies that all teaching may not necessarily lead to meaningful learning when any one of these factors is overlooked in the process. Many other influences may impinge on the teaching-learning process to hinder or facilitate success. Three such influences in traditional research on the teaching of minority language children will be discussed. These are

1) Influences of Cultural and Pedagogical Definitions on Teaching and Learning.
2) Influences Of Second Culture Expectations.

1) Influences of Culture on Pedagogical Definitions of Teaching And Learning: The Deficit Hypothesis

The role of linguistic difference factors has been advanced as the major causal component for the poor academic achievement of minority language children in Standard English-speaking education systems (Bernstein, 1969, 1972; Deutsch, 1969; Downing, 1974). However, a subsequent trend of thought, through the work of other researchers suggests that linguistic difference factors per se are not the sole cause of academic under-achievement. Rather, the attitude with which people respond to those differences is one of the most influential factors in failure (Wells, 1982, 1983, 1984; Rosen, 1980; Laban, 1981; Rosen, Moffet and Barnes, 1976).

Theories which evolved from the above group of studies created a great impact on pedagogical thinking, consequently setting in question the findings of the deficit hypothesis and the manner in which learning processes were shaped for minority children. For example, the work of Bernstein communicated a theory of "deficits" in the overall socialization and its effects on the acquisition and cognitive potential of the child from minority and lower socio-economic backgrounds. This theory explained the use of language in different socialization structures in terms of "codes". These, it was thought, would determine which economic structure of society would accommodate those with skills acquired under minority type socialization processes. Thus, middle-class and lower class children would each go through society on the basis of who they became as a result of their socialization experiences, through the language patterns used in their homes. One unfortunate element which underlay the foregoing theory is, that most often, the lower-class children whose skills would continue to reflect that class, were from minority language and cultural backgrounds. As such, what these children are, and what they would become would be perpetuated by systems of the dominant society. Another unfortunate element in this theory is that the educational system becomes the vehicle through which the assumed deficiencies are perpetuated and prevent an equal oppurtunity to enter into any category of society.

The most significant pedagogical implication which resulted from the "deficit assumption" which underlay the foregoing work, was the inundation of "compensatory" cognitive and cultural content in school systems. These were genuinely intended to help the minority child to "make up", or to "catch up", or to be "enriched" in those dominant cultural and linguistic characteristics in which the child seemed to be deprived. Unfortunately, the doses of compensatory education which were injected into the school life of the children were out of the contexts of the rest of their lives. Culture as a whole shapes what one is and what life will be for one. Somehow, the culture of the lower-class children was missed in the compensatory context, thereby creating a paradox in the final analysis. That is, the input of middle-class content into school programs which was intended to help the recipients perform at the level of children from middle-class homes, only reinforced the gap which already existed between the home life and school life of the lower-class children (Dittmar, 1976). It was later realized that simply patching those presumed voids as seen through the eyes of middle-class educators could not remedy what was presumably wrong with these children's ability to demonstrate better responses to school programs as the problem was greater than what was perceived. As such, minority children's home language, socio-economic backgrounds and cultural differences could not continue to be blamed for poor performances (Dittmar, 1976).

To date there is lack of proof that the compensatory approach helped minority language children overcome the presumed deficiencies which prohibited successful entry into anything other than the lower echelons of society. This in turn generated another trend of thinking on the pedagogical influences on the teaching-learning process for minority children. This theory contributed that perhaps the language of instruction should be in the native language of the minority child (Dunton and Gagnon, 1970). This theory, like that of the "deficit" theory also set off a spate of debates. For example, Downing (1974) argued against the native language thesis, insisting that to use the minority language as the language of instruction would lead to retardation in academic achievement as well as the diluting of content areas.

While the debate goes on, other studies have shown that perhaps the social context which involves much more than teachers' language in relation to children's language backgrounds may yet be the most misunderstood factor in casting new light on failure at school programs, as far as minority language children are concerned (Barnes, Britton and Rosen, 1976; Dittmar, 1976; Kiddie, 1978; Labov, 1970a; 1970b; 1971a; 1972c; Stubbs, 1976). In essence, the latter studies have called into question the findings of the deficit theory set in a framework based on the following summarized characteristics:

i) when the language of the learners is foreign to the language of instruction, the learners are almost automatically labelled with the characteristics of the disadvantaged and with the learning disabilities of the lower-class. This in no way faults the teacher who has been socialized in a completely different linguistic setting and in a society which holds different values;

ii) in the Standard English setting, language different children are equated with being deficient in "secondary and primary linguistic skills". Their potential abilities to be academically successful are not given the opportunity to take root and bear fruit;

iii) the perceived language deficits derived from language differences facilitate cumulative cognitive deficits as a consequence of which the children are unable to understand concepts taught through the mainstream language.

Moffitt (1974) and Cummins (1983) have shown that the above characteristics of the theories discussed so far have been applied to the minority language learner in the Canadian context where languages as vastly different as Chinese, Vietnamese and Polish, to name only a few, are continually present.

In light of the fact that Canada offers immigration opportunities to residents of war-torn and Third World countries with totalitarian regimes, the ethno-cultural, socio-economic and linguistic differences will continually be reflected in Canadian classrooms. As such, these presumed causal factors for failure in academic programs will no longer represent only a temporary reality of the education system. Perhaps if these presumed causal factors could be reflected on and re-examined from the "We", instead of "Us-Them" relationship as in past studies, it may help to determine whether other factors are not actually the cause for difficulties experienced by both teachers and children in the multi-cultural contexts.

Statistics revealed at the Second National Conference for Multiculturalism in Canada (1984) indicated that by the turn of the century the minority language speaking population will represent two-thirds of the Canadian society. This is bound to be reflected in the Canadian classroom. The researcher shares the view of Dunton and Grognon (1970) which suggests the timeliness for re-viewing the programs which serve non-English-speaking immigrant children. This is supported in order to determine what could be done to help teachers and children to better embrace the realities which the multi-cultural dimension brings with it. Dunton and Grognon (1970) observe that "Ethnic diversity is a fact of Canadian life" (p. 51). They also note that "it is also an unfortunate fact that a disproportionately large number of --- recent immigrants occupy the lower and lowest portions of our social hierarchy" (p. 51).
Prior to their migration, many of the children discussed in this study enjoyed the highest socio-economic status and "the good life" in their mother countries. Unfortunately, on arrival in the second-culture societies, previous characteristics of family life and living changed for them. For example, where originally father managed the provision of income and mother was always at home, both parents and older children of the newly arrived family are now obligated to seek long hours of menial employment to 'keep up' with the demands of living in geographically located lower-class economic areas (Parent Interview Data, February, 1984).

Insecurities resulting from lack of access to accustomed emotional family support take a toll on the non-English-speaking immigrant children's motivation for academic success (Parent Interview Data, February, 1984). The lack of motivation in turn becomes manifested in diverse ways by the minority children (E.S.L. Coordinator, June, 1983). Consequently, remedial programs, for example, E.S.L., and other immersion activities are recommended for these children who by now are usually diagnosed as being deficient in the ability to learn second-culture concepts successfully.

2) Influences of Second Culture Expectations

McLeod (1981) gives a comprehensive review of the field. He notes the declining emphasis on assimilation policies towards cultural pluralism. In his definition of multiculturalism, McLeod identified the following aspects: equality of status, the Canadian identity, sharing conditions, increase in choices and protection of civil and human rights. He also noted that there have been various approaches to multi-cultural education. For example, the following forms of education were cited. 1) Education for "ethnic specificity". 2) "Problem-oriented" Education. 3) The "Cultural/intercultural'" Education. All these attempts have scored some success but are not without their peculiar problems. Sporadic attempts (with the exception of the Province of Ontario) have been made to put into practice what has been discussed in theory concerning multi-cultural education in Canada.

The author in conclusion notes that the concept multi-culturalism is recent. However, it has undergone changes. It has developed in cultural, social and political spheres as well as in education. Now the "problem-orientation" and "ethnic specificity" approach to multi-cultural education are gradually giving way to "a more comprehensive cultural-intercultural" approach. Many of the problems schools face reflect problems in the larger society. McLeod believes that the future of multi-cultural education should provide for group and individual needs. Such educaiton should stress the positive outcomes of programs, and with increased "attention to human relations, group development, language teaching, teacher awareness and sensitivity, administration adjustments, student interest and concerns, and community involvement" (McLeod, 1981, p. 24). What do the programs in the participating schools offer non-English-speaking immigrant children?

D. Summary

The circumstances that motivate the families of Non-English-speaking immigrant children to emigrate span a continuum of "seeking a better life than they had in their original countries to seeking a re-birth of broken spirits". The latter sometimes being due to civil unrest in their countries. They leave with an assurance that their scattered families and broken spirits would be revived when they make it one day. However, stories which were told to them cause them to conceptualize Canada as "the Promised Land" in which they could realize a new beginning. Canada is perceived as a place where they could begin to dream again of a new tomorrow. Research on Canadian and international perspectives on multicultural education shows that much is left to be desired about consensus on program focus, explicit policy formulation and change in attitudinal practice for enhancing the potential of both children from minority and the majority culture. Change, however, may only be useful when the root of current problems with multicultural education programs are identified and investigated. It is hoped that this study would be a step in that direction.

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

The present chapter first discusses the preliminary study. This then leads to the main study which was divided into four phases.

The population for the study was identified and their respective background relevent to the study was presented. Other information provided includes: basis for the selection of participants; strategies used to obtain the data, and the research design.

B. The Population

Pre-Study: Fifteen local inner-city and suburban kindergarten teachers.

The Main Study:

i) Principal Participants -- Three English-speaking kindergarten teachers two (2) from local inner-city schools and one (1) from a local suburban school.

ii) Fifteen (15) non-English-speaking immigrant children representative of the minority groups outlined below and who arrived in Canada within and no longer than six months prior to entry in the kindergarten classrooms.

iii) Fifteen parents (and/or parent representatives of the fifteen child participants.

iv) Two (2) heritage language interpreters : (1) Spanish, (1) Vietnamese.

Secondary Participants

v) Three (3) English-as-a-second-language teachers attached to the three research schools

vi) Three (3) Grade I teachers attached to the researched schools.

vii) Three Principals of the three researched schools.

viii) The English-as-a-second-language co-ordinator of the Edmonton Public School Board.

C. Backgrounds of Child Participants

The Central Americans Leo:

Leo and his family comprising his mother, father and older brother fled the civil uprisings in Bogota, Columbia to pursue a less traumatic life in Canada. Leo's father is an agricultural scientist with an excellent soccer performance record. His mother was an extension educator in the Parent-Home early childhood development programs in Bogota. The family's heritage language is Spanish.

Leo's cultural values, e.g., getting the full support of his family members on completing new tasks in his heritage language is constantly reinforced in longer periods of the day, than he is in the language and values in the classroom. This often created an on-going school-home conflict in which Leo stood in the centre as the agencies of home and school tried to determine whether he should attempt to cease to function in each other's language systems to demonstrate evidence that he can learn.

Ziza:

Ziza and her family of four sisters, one brother and mother were granted assistance by a religious organization to leave a war-torn El Salvador. They settled in an inner-city area. Their heritage language is Spanish.

Ziza's mom and family receive much assistance from bilingual church personnel to acquire a functional language experience in Standard English. This is to help them to acquire an independence in meeting their family's economic and social needs in the new second culture community.

Ziza entered school being unable to use one word of Standard English which would help her to relate to the meanings in the teacher's language of instruction.

The Chinese:
Keen:

Keen and Kevin are from the mainland of China. Both boys arrived with their parents, younger brother, their father's parents and two unmarried aunts from their father's lineage. Both families quickly sought the assistance of the local Chinese Association in the inner-city areas to help them to establish new roots in the second culture. However, Kevin's father enrolled in community adult English-as-a-second-language class in an attempt to acquire enough facility in Standard English as would help him to function as the proprietor of his own neighbourhood grocery store. With his limited facility in Standard English he is Kevin's only audience with which to share his school life without initiating a family dispute on whether to communicate in his heritage language or not.

Dun:

Dun is an only child. His father is a nuclear engineer and his mother is a housewife. This family arrived in Canada on a special assignment of co-operation between the Chinese and Provincial government and settled in a suburban area. As the assignment progresses, the family's desire not to return to China grew stronger. They eventually remained as residents of Canada.

Don was particularly immersed in and supported by his family's cultural values and patterns of meaning about life as they perceive it from a Chinese perspective. He spoke no Standard English word until three months into the school year. Nevertheless, Don demonstrated diligence, a high level of interest and excellence in construction activities which he often initiated, after abandoning teacher-initiated activities which were predicated by long verbal instructions in Standard English which he seemed unable to follow.

Guyanese:

Nal:

Nal is the older of two children born to Indo-Guyanese parents. Nal's parents emigrated to Canada to pursue higher education. Nal was conceived during the first year of her parents new life. The parents decided that they would not afford to study and raise a child simultaneously, nor could they pay for substitute childcare. Nal's mom who is an only child therefore returned to Guyana to give birth. Nal was left with her Indo-Guyanese grandparents who raised her for four and one-half years until Nal's parents arranged for her relatives to emigrate to Canada to share their newest addition to the family --- a baby girl.

Since Nal's grandparents spoke Hindi as their first language, Nal acquired that language system as her first language. On arrival in Canada, Nal began to acquire Standard English very slowly. However, since Nal's patterns of interaction with her relatives reflect that emotionally Nal still responds to her grandparents as her parents, her use of Hindi is reinforced.

On Nal's arrival at school she was categorized as being an E.S.L. student. She was treated and interacted with on the basis of this label.

The Jamaicans:

Rannia:

Rainnia's mother is the single parent of five other children born out of wedlock. This family resided in the rural outskirts of Kingston, Jamaica, where a creole dialect of Standard English is spoken. On arrival in Canada, Rainnia's family settled in an inner-city area. On arrival at school she was categorized as an E.S.L. student since her verbal communication was not understood by her teacher.

Richard:

Richard's parents originally lived in Spanish Town in Jamaica where a Jamaican/Spanish type of creole dialect of Standard English was the community language system. On arrival in Canada this family resided in an inner-city area. On arrival at school, Richard's language could not be understood. He was consequently labelled an E.S.L. student. Additionally, Richard seemed listless and uninterested in school activities which required him to show interest and understanding through using his own language facilities.

He was diagnosed as being emotionally disturbed and was related to as a child with both language and emotional problems. At the beginning of the school year the teacher had already predicted that Richard would not be a successful learner.

The Mexicans:

Jason:

Jason's family is comprised of a father, mother, two sisters and two brothers. His father is a trained chef who chose to emigrate primarily for economic reasons. Jason's parents spoke limited Standard English when it was functionally necessary in the little restaurant which they managed in their homeland.

Jason is the oldest of his siblings and as such he assumes many household responsibilities for their daily well-being as both parents went out to work. Being over-exhausted from family responsibilities at home and not being understood at school because he speaks Spanish, Jason's attention-getting behaviour in school gained him the label of a problem learner. As the school year progressed, Jason became useful as his teacher's intermediary for translating the language of a new Spanish-speaking entrant

(Ziza) for his teacher's benefit.

Jerry:

Jerry is the youngest of three sons of Spanish parents who were both teachers in the public education system of their country. This family emigrated to Canada for economic reasons. Their heritage language is Spanish although, to a limited extent they speak Standard English. Jerry was labelled an E.S.L. student on arrival at school.

Native American:

Chipper:

Chipper's parents reside in an inner-city area predominantly polpulated by Native Canadian Indians. His parents speak an Indian dialect of American Indian language in their home context. His grandparents reside in the upper regions of the Alaskan territory where they maintain their self-sufficient ways of trapping, fishing and making fur coats to sell to Canadian retailers.

During the trapping season, September to May, Chipper is sent to assist his grandparents for periods ranging from three to six months. Chipper's parents explain this as helping him to "learn the other ways of their people". During those six months' absence, Chipper disrupts his schooling experience in his first-home community. When he is with his grandparents he learns to speak their Indian language. This, the school claims, causes him to lose any facility in the English dialect which he may have acquired in the three months. This type of life has caused Chipper to be demoted twice from Grade I to kindergarten since he seemed not to have the basic skills for higher conceptual learning.

The Trinidadian:

Lakaj:

Lakaj is an Indo-Trinidadian who speaks rural Creolese, a dialect of Standard English is the youngest of his three brothers and two sisters. On arrival at school, he was defined as an E.S.L. student.

Vietnamese:

Ana:

Ana, Tae and Don arrived in Canada from Vietnam via the "getaway boats". She is the youngest child of her family, lost her father and three brothers through enemy capture and imprisonment when it was reported that their families were seeking avenues to escape from their country.

Ana and her mother were away fishing when the remainder of her family were grabbed by the enemy police. Tae and his were also grabbed and imprisoned. They later managed a dramatic escape following their daily prison exercise rounds. Don and his father shared this same fate. They all now reside in a local Vietnamese-support apartment building in an inner-city area.

Ana, Tae and Don speak Vietnamese fluently but Ana, in a very limited way, speaks a dialect of Standard English assumed the role intermediary for helping the adults and children of these families to function as far as getting things done through Standard English in the society.

D. Background of the Teachers

Miss Avery: School A

Miss Avery, a thirty-two year old Albertan, is unmarried, pleasant and resourceful. She is the oldest of six siblings whose father died when she was only sixteen. Her widowed mother never re-married, but sought employment to ensure that Miss Avery would have a Bachelor of Education degree. This was pursued in elementary education in Canada.

Unfortunately, Miss Avery was unable to utilize her skills at formal classroom teaching as her mother became the victim of a massive coronary attack. Miss Avery accepted the responsibility of taking care of her paralized mother during the day while her siblings attended their respective levels of schooling. She then went off to work at a convalescent home for the elderly in order to support her family.

Miss Avery entered the teaching profession nine years prior to this research study after her mother died. Her initial experience was gained in a suburban school where there were few minority children. After four years she joined the staff of the inner-city school A where the majority of the school population is made up of children from several ethnocultures.

On-going in-service education for further professional development is the basis for this teacher's continued desire to seek to know how to help non-English-speaking immigrant children to experience a less traumatic schooling experience. Miss Avery speaks only Standard English.

Miss Belle: School B

Miss Belle, an Albertan, is the twenty-four year old mother of two sons, three years and six months old. She speaks only Standard English. She obtained her Bachelor of Education degree in April of 1983, five months before the commencement of this study. Prior to her appointment as a kindergarten teacher in this inner-city school, Miss Belle has never been involved in teaching.

As a fiirst year teacher, Miss Belle seemed to have perceived teaching from a very rigid framework. This ~~was~~ partly due to her own need to test her own theories and philosophy of what the ~~function~~ education should be in the context of her perception of herself as a teacher who needed the approval of her immediate administrators and more experienced peers.

Her participation in additional professional development was always mandated. Otherwise this teacher relied on the traditional ways in which she was taught and from which she felt she made a success of her life.

Miss Chase: School C

Miss Chase, an Albertan, is a thirty-six year old teacher and wife. She acquired the Bachelor of Education at a Canadian university and had nine years teaching experience at the commencement of this study.

She has been exposed to a variety of school populations, for example, in different inner-city and suburban locations. To some extent, this experience has nurtured her tolerance for differences in her students each year. Consequently, on reflecting, she accredits her perceived unhurried classroom atmosphere to that variety of experience.

E. Description ot the Schools

School A

This school is located in an inner-city area primarily populated by families of Asian (Oriental) and Mexican heritages. The population of the school is therefore primarily Asian. The staff is made up of Caucasian teachers and administrators.

When compared with School B and School C, the teachers of this school seemed to demonstrate more awareness of the presence of such children and their differences. This was perhaps because of themselves feeling as a minority among the number of Asian and Spanish population.

This awareness is felt as they demonstrate through their cooperative involvement in, and support for the special cultural days and events which these children observe. They also seemed more tolerant of parental investigations into the way the education system seemed to be responding to their children's social and academic needs.

However, beyond the awareness of the physical differences of the children, life in this school mirrored the expectations of the greater society to some extent: there was a constant striving towards excellence in academic skills and primarily through the mode of Standard English. This dialectical response to the presence of such children in this school set the tone of what may be the best approach to teaching the non-English-speaking immigrant child, as against what had to be the practice.

School B

This school is located in an inner-city area largely populated by families of Vietnamese, Chinese and Central American heritages. One does not have to be a researcher to identify after a short visit to this school that the staff and minority children share completely different worlds during the official and unofficial scheduled learning time.

The inadequacies of the children and their parents are often the topic of unsavory staff conversation. These conversations are often based on the teachers' perceptions of different parenting responsibilities and never on the consideration for the choices which such parents may have had to make in relation to specific problems which these children demonstrate.

What was also obvious was the seeming endorsement of such staff attitude by the principal who continually blamed the concept of immigration for its irresponsible manner of not following through on ensuring that the school would not have to accept the total responsibility for helping immigrant children to experience a smoother cultural transition into the new society.

The consequence of such beliefs demonstrated itself in each theacher interpreting the purpose of education for the non-English-speaking immigrant child from what works best for daily survival and perceived performance satisfaction.

School C

This school is located in a suburban area in Alberta. One third of the population is made up of minority children.

Upon entering this school one gets the impression that the process of education affords all children an equal opportunity to succeed at school life. A closer look, however, shows that in a very unknowing way the need to respond differently to children's differences in order to treat all children fairly is constantly overlooked.

The feeling that the minority children seem to become 'lost' in the larger second-culture school population is quite evident as teachers seem to move through each day's activities in a teaching-as-usual manner.

In this approach to teaching the school portrays its perception of each child being just another child, whether s/he is of a minority or majority ethnic group. The implication of this perception is that when the minority groups represent a smaller portion of the school's population, it may be harmless to respond to the general teaching-learning situation as a homogeneous one.

Beyond the observation of minority cultural displays, the physical environment of the school portrays no symbolic reminders of these children's heritage. A safe and civil atmosphere of co-existence exists in a general way.

F. Basis for Selection

Each category of participant was invited by letter to volunteer participation in the study. The kindergarten teacher of each school advised the researcher to allow her to modify the researcher's basic letter to appeal to the parents as they believed the latter were better known to the families.

G. Strategies Used to Obtain the Data

1)

Audio taped informal and formal interviews with School Board officials, principals and kindergarten teachers were held. In each of the first two groups two interviews were held; one before and one after the research study. In the last group, interviews were held before and after each teaching episode, and when teachers or the researcher required such interviews to clarify interpretations.

(2) One full day per week of teaching-learning episodes were video-taped in each of the three classrooms, over a period of 18 months.

(3) Diary documentation of short and extended accounts of valuable information which could not be captured on audio or videotapes were collected.

The following approaches were used to interpret and make sense of the data:

(1) Daily transcriptions of audiotaped discussions were read by the researcher. Themes, questions and ideas which needed to be clarified for the researcher by the participants were extracted. These were subsequently discussed with the respective participants.

(2) Participants discussed their own interpretations of the researcher's observations. They clarified or challenged aspects of the transcribed data.

(3) An adaptation of Katz' (1977) grid for observing how variables (factors) of the basic characteristics of any program in early childhood settings was used to document a picture of the factors which affect and shape the life in each classroom. Although the teacher is a significant aspect of any classroom, other internal and external forces which he/she and any child bring to a shared social context would have a bearing on behaviour in shaping a common reality, that is, the experiences offered in the teaching-learning process. Katz' 1977 grid suggests the accommodation of such internal and external factors, that is, ecological factors which ask us to take note that "both the environmental and social circumstances from which the children have originated" (Quay and Werry, 1979) will affect what we attempt to do in any context which is meant to further human development. This grid is reproduced in Figure 1.

(4) The thematic analysis strategy (that is, the strategy of identifying theme(s) from the original protocols (data)) was used to identify the common influences which teachers interpreted as impeding or facilitating successful learning for the non-English-speaking immigrant children who participated in the study. In each stage of the research process, strategies and modifications in time schedules or medium for collecting information had to be made in order to satisfy the conditions set by each participant for his/her involvement.

The Research Instrument:
Characteristics of Early Childhood Programs.

Characteristics	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
A Clients	A	AxB						
B Teachers & Assistants	BxA	B	BxC					
C Program Organization		CxB	C					
D Philosophical Orientation & History		DxB		D		DxF		
E Parent Power		ExB			E			
F Administrative Factors & Sponsorship		FxB				F		
G Length of Program		GxB					G	
H Physical Plant & Climate		HxB						H

(Katz, 1977, p. 13)

Figure 11.

H. Phases of the Research Process

The Pre-Study Phase

The officials of the policy-making administrators of the School Board were visited between August-September, 1983.

The reasons for this visit were:

1) To seek help in identifying possible research contexts in which there were multicultural populations. Fifteen such classrooms were identified for the researcher.
2) To hold informal and formal discussions with these officials in the hope that these discussions would disclose the ideological/pedagogical orientations which administrators held in regard to the teaching-learning process for non-English-speaking immigrant children. The researcher hoped that these orientations would provide an indication of the expectations which administrators at the policy-making level had for the teachers, students and programs for which they held some responsibility.

Fifteen teachers of the suggested inner-city and suburban elementary schools were visited a minimum of once per week over a three month period between October and December, 1983. When an individual teacher suggested the researcher make additional visits, the suggested number of visits were made. During these visits, the oral discourse between the teacher and the nNon-English-speaking immigrant children was observed. Teacher goals and outcomes of teaching activities were documented. Factors which hindered or facilitated the realization of set goals, teacher success and/or learner success at program activities and desired goals were discussed with each teacher and documented.

Phase 1: Entry into the Three Research Contexts

The factors identified in the Pre-study stage gave structure to this phase of the research. The purpose here was to determine how the three remaining kindergarten teachers who stayed with the study to its completion continued to establish mutual understanding of what was to be learnt by the non-English-speaking immigrant children from teacher planned activities. The data teachers used to determine that learning did occur were discussed. Factors which hindered, and/or facilitated understanding and learning were documented, discussed and interpreted cooperatively by the researcher and each teacher in relation to their effects on the lives of teachers and students. The primary factors which impeded the realization of tangible evidence of successful teaching-learning at this stage reinforced those identified in the Pre-study stage.

Phase 2

Here data collecting techniques were supplemented by videotaping each teaching-learning session from the beginning to the end of the day selected by each teacher. The goals of activities (Why), the content of activities (What), and the strategies for sharing knowledge (How) were focussed upon. The use of videotaping from this point onward arose out the following:

1) the researcher was specifically asked by Miss Belle for an evaluative feedback on her teaching performance. This placed the researcher in a "double-bind" situation of risking feedback which the teacher could have interpreted as negative, and thereupon terminated her involvement in the study. Four of her teaching episodes were then videotaped and offered to her for her own evaluation and discussions based on the "why", "what", and "how" stated above. Interpretations were documented and interpreted mutually.
2) viewing her own performance in the teaching-learning sessions facilitated a greater depth of teacher interpretation of the data in Miss Belle's situation. This depth of interpretation produced a greater distinction between what teachers assumed and the demonstrable factors which impeded children's learning in the teaching-learning processes. The use of viewing and interpreting videotaped sessions was applied to all other researched classrooms.

Phase 3

By this phase recurring themes regarding the influence on the shaping of the teaching-learning process for the children began to emerge. They were further discussed and interpreted by the teachers in the study as these themes affected their lives in and out of the classrooms.

Phase 4

During this stage the three teachers' perceptions of the researcher in the research contexts were investigated. The purpose was to determine what effects (perhaps of change) the researcher, the eighteen month duration and the data collecting strategies had on any aspect of the teachers' lives during the research period. Here, each principal assisted the researcher by holding discussions with the respective kindergarten teacher about how each "saw" the researcher and the effects of the process of research on their lives.

I. A Quest for an Appropriate Methodology

Prior to entry into the research settings, the researcher was consumed by an endless quest for securing a research methodology for investigating life in the three multi-cultural classrooms. The essence of that quest was the identification of *appropriateness* and *adequate methods which would* allow the researcher to "see" the experience through the eyes of the principal participants. The researcher felt that this was needed for the following two reasons:

1) as a black Guyanese student the researcher identified culturally with the child-participants in the study as a non-Canadian immigrant,
2) appropriateness and adequateness in the methodology would help to bracket influences of the researcher's own cultural and professional knowledge on the research process.

The use of a qualitative approach through ethnographic strategies seemed appropriate and adequate. The variety and flexibility of its characteristic strategies allowed the observer to "paint a picture of the way of life of (the) interacting human group" (Walcott, 1975, p. 112) as it is experienced by them.

As each day went by, the various parts of the "picture" of the investigated experience took form. However, it also became clear that only the symbolic level of the teaching-learning interaction and its meanings were being explored. This left too much to the researcher's interpretations. Since the purpose of finding and using an appropriate methodology was to capture how the participants interpreted their own experience, the deeper level and more personal meaning of that experience needed to be known as well. At this point therefore, it was decided to complement ethnographic strategies with thematic analysis used in phenomenology to probe into each stage of understanding the meaning of the deeper level of the participants' experience. The meaning of a thematic analysis of experience would be defined as

— *an analysis, probing and explaining the "experiential structures which make up (an) experience.*

— *an attempt to describe lived experience "which make up universes of meaning we live through"* (Van Mannen, 1984, p. 27).

J. The Use of Phenomenology for Unlearning and Interpreting Experience

Werner and Rothe (1979) suggest that much of the interpretation of the context of the study would be affected by the "conceptual baggage" (knowledge, values, norms and beliefs) which the interpreter brings to that setting. Components of that baggage would include 1) the personal views held about education and the cultural values, and 2) beliefs and meanings which the researcher holds for the investigated experience. Most important though, is the researcher's personal perceptions of the experience researched; for example, that feeling which says, *"This is what it is to be a teacher of non-English-speaking immigrant children"*. That is, a pre-defined meaning of the experience.

In this study, the clash of researcher-participants' perceptions of the experience sometimes created a constant level of personal tension in the three research contexts. As the researcher reviewed her observational and theoretical notes daily, some sources of the tension were identified. These can be stated as follows: 1) The methodological approach used was intended to help the researcher to unlearn her own ideas of the experience which was investigated. This unlearning is a developmental process. However, the researcher somehow expected to experience this unlearning in a short time. A gradual process was not experienced. Difficulties which created uneasiness for the researcher, and teachers therefore arose. Some of these difficulties which were then translated into tension were, for example, --- the researcher tended to focus documentation on how the teachers' oral discourse affected the children and not on how the lack of children's oral responses and their misunderstood gazing affected the teachers. Examples of this nature were --- *"Darin is constantly ignored"*. *"Constant impatience with Tabby"*.

Only when that seeming focus towards the child-participants, with whom she identified culturally, was discovered did the easing of that tension of unlearning take place. The effects of this situation are described by Kant (1978) as

> saying nothing about the thing as such (of experiencing the process of facilitating a learning process for Non-English-speaking immigrant children) beyond the limits of my own cognitive equipment for identifying and comprehending 'things' as they appear(ed) to me (p. 7).

The researcher's subjective way of "seeing" focussed only on the individual subjective actions of the teachers, or the non-verbal responses of the children, separately. The intersubjective experience of each affecting the other in that context was almost disregarded. This observation left the researcher quite uncomfortable. The teachers on the other hand seemed quite comfortable with the way things were. That was incomprehensible. The experience of the participants was seen only in a way that described what happened outside of their "individual selves".

If a critical examination of the human experience was to be effected, then the experience of "seeing" had to be modified on the researcher's part. What seemed missing was an interpretation as experienced "inside (the) consciousness (and) human awareness, specifically awareness of this human experience" (Wagner, 1983, p. 9). In other words, an interpretation of the inter-dependent nature of the *inner, as well as, the outer* experiencing of the teachers and non-English-speaking immigrant children being *with* each other *was needed.*

The need to "see" the teachers' experiences from within themselves influenced the decision to complement the use of ethnographic strategies with interpretation through a thematic questioning and analysis in an attempt to recreate an experience which was uniquely that of the participants'. Support for the appropriateness of the use of this complementary way of "seeing" the meaning of experience is expressed by Wagner (1983) who describes it as

> a system of interpretation that helps us perceive and conceive our contacts and interchange with others, and everything else within the realm of our experience (p. 8), and that,
>
> it not only demands something new, it demands the unlearning of much that we have learned, abandoning habits of thought deeply engrained in our consciousness (p. 9).

Further, Wagner explains that this approach,

> speaks of the world as it appears within the realm and possibilities of experience and understanding (p. 9).

The method of interpretation which was deemed appropriate and was used to understand the English-speaking teachers' experience of shaping the teaching-learning process for non-English-speaking children was the hermeneutic method.

K. Hermeneutics as Interpretation

Heidegger traced the etymology of the term "hermeneutics" to its derivation from the Greek verb "hermeneuven" and its related noun "hermeneus" which is referrable to the name of the god Hermes, a "divine messenger who brings a message of destiny : hermeneuven is that exposition which brings tidings because it can listen to a message" (p. 24). Such an exposition becomes an interpretation of what has been said earlier in any given context. Smith (1983) contributes that "the purpose of investigation should be *verstehen*, or interpretive understanding and this requires a hermeneutical approach" (p. 12). He continues

> That a very basic definition (of verstehen) centres on the attempt to achieve a sense of meaning that others give to their language, art, gestures and politics. To understand in this way further implies that one knows what another is experiencing by engaging in a recreation of those experiences (p. 12).

In support of this approach to understanding, Smith continues

> ... the essence of understanding is to put oneself in the place of the other -- something which is possible if one possesses a degree of empathy with the other or has the disposition to recreate the experiences (p. 12).

Hermeneutics, according to Smith, demonstrates that understanding cannot be pursued in the absence of *context* or of an *interpretive framework*. A hermeneutical approach is

> "therefore employed to achieve an interpretive understanding of human activity, and this interpretation is expressed in the language of the *situation* rather than in a neutral scientific language" (p. 12).

The understanding of the messages and meanings of the defined experience were therefore made possible by the complementary ethnographic strategies with a phenomenological thematic analysis.

During each stage of the work, an on-going method of triangulation as proposed by Couriel (1974) was used as one strategy to ensure internal validity of the findings. A second strategy to ensure a high level of validity in this work was the use of an external reader of my journal and on-going interpretations of the generated data. The former, who has a background in the design and delivery of programs for the families of war refugees in North American countries, read, checked, and shared interpretations of notes with participants' reactions. The other checkers of notes and interpretations were three peers and a professor of Elementary Education. On-going samples of data were discussed for similarities and differences in interpretations.

L. Discussion of Research Phases

The Pre-Study Phase

Exploring the Ideological Maps of Policy Makers

It was necessary to begin to understand the greater pedagogical framework within which the teachers worked. Paulo Freire (1980) suggests that

> ...there is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to integrate the learner into the logic

> of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the "practice of freedom", the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to transform that reality (p. 7).

This stage comprised two parts. These are as follows:

1) Before entering the researched settings, and being a complete outsider to the education system, the need existed to explore the ideological and pedagogical orientations of those who make the policies which shape the lives of the teachers and children in this system. The researcher felt the need to know how the people at the very top of the education system perceived the function of education for non-English-speaking immigrant children. It was hoped that this knowledge would give the researcher valuable information about what factors may have influenced policy-makers' decisions on program design and content. Also, it was hoped that such knowledge would provide an idea on how these same factors may have influenced the way in which the teachers perceived and shaped (implemented) their programs. At this point the questions which came to the researcher's mind were: — *What did policy makers value most : an approach of integration or assimilation for the non-English-speaking immmigrant children, through program content and implementation? — How did English-speaking policy-makers evaluate the knowledge of non-English-speaking immigrant children, in order to determine their levels of competence (cognitive, social, linguistic) for placing them into the respective programs? — What decisions are made when the non-English-speaking immigrant children's cognitive interpretations of the evaluative content of testing did not match those of the local evaluators?*

2) During the second activity in this Pre-Study stage the researcher sought the assistance of personnel at the school district administration level to identify elementary schools with multi-ethnic populations in kindergarten classes. The criterion for participation by these schools, was that each should have a significant multi-ethnic population. Twenty such schools were identified for the researcher.

Next, a tentative proposal of the study was written and sent to the suggested schools. On the receipt of fifteen positive responses to participation in the study, the researcher visited the schools and discussed with principals and kindergarten teachers the very *basic* requirements which those who volunteered to participate should demonstrate. These were as follows:

1) Personal Interest: --- Teachers who indicated a need to know more about working with non-English-speaking immigrant children.

2) Flexibility and Time: --- Teachers who made their schedules flexible enough to facilitate clarification of what was seen and heard, and the willingness to keep a journal on a regular basis.

3) Collaboration in the Research Process: --- Teachers with total commitment to an eighteen months' research process and an on-going involvement in making sense of the classroom experience.

The following basic information was provided in the tentative research proposal sent to the suggested schools:

1) The heterogenous nature of the Canadian classroom is no longer an aberration but a resource for diversifying educational experiences – especially for the non-English-speaking immigrant children.

2) There is a need to review how the experiential backgrounds of the non-English-speaking immigrant children are utilized in perspective sharing and personal meaning in learning.

3) A proposed tentative time line for participation in the setting — one year to eighteen months — was suggested.

4) *Three data collecting strategies were to be used : observation, formal interviewing of teachers, children and parents, and audio-taping interviews.*

5) *That the analysis and interpretation of data should be conducted in collaboration with the classroom teacher.*

6) *That after four months of the implementing and carrying out the above, continued participation would be purely voluntary for the duration of the eighteen months.*

The proposals were acknowledged, and the researcher was alerted on the time set by the kindergarten teachers for visits to their classrooms. Each of the fifteen classrooms was visited once per week, over October-December, 1983, and whenever any teacher invited the researcher to pay additional visits. Short and extended accounts of the teaching-learning activities and general life in the environments were documented. The questions which guided the researcher were:

1) --- How did teachers share information with the non-English-speaking immigrant child(ren) in their classroom to help them learn new content?

2) --- How did teachers determine that their goals were realized?

In other words, how did teachers share their subjective ideas of the learning activities in which they involved the non-English-speaking immigrant child(ren) so as to make the experience part of the life experiences of the latter?

The significant events, interactions and subtle comments from teachers and children were documented in the researcher's journal and were analyzed in themes for formulating new questions for subsequent stages of the research process. At this point the status of participating schools was as follows:

Month	No. of Participating Schools
October, 1983	All fifteen schools participated.
November, 1983	Six schools withdrew as teachers claimed that their involvement "warranted more time than was anticipated as somehow research doesn't help anything anyway". (Teacher Interview, Dec., 1983)
December, 1983	Five teachers indicated that they needed my input, as I was perceived as "knowing" more about "how these children learn better than I do".
January, 1984	By this time four teachers volunteered to participate through the eighteen (18) months duration.
June, 1984	Three teachers completed the entire project. The fourth teacher dropped out as a result of a complicated pregnancy.

Phase I

The Shaping of the Researcher's Role

Proponents of an anthropological field research orientation suggest that there are some basic factors which must be recognized by the researcher who is trying to enter the worlds of those participating in the research. Some of these factors are:

--- the development of trust

--- the need for reciprocity in relationships

--- the stress which results from the effects of frustration

--- the ability to engage in an on-going bracketing of the researcher's knowledge of the experience (Geer, 1968; Rowles, 1983).

Knowing that the above factors can affect the research process positively and/or negatively is very important for the researcher to keep in mind. However, reading about the cautions of ignoring the powerful effects these factors have on the research process alone, in no way helps the researcher to comprehend fully what it means for a stranger to initiate a process for sharing the worlds of other strangers, especially when this process implies an evaluative element. The impact of initiating and developing a trusting relationship with strangers has to be experienced before its meaning can be understood. Sophocles, quoted by Rowles (1978) puts this thought in the following way:

> One must learn
> By doing the thing; for though you
> think you know it
> You have no certainty until you try.
> (p. 174)

There has to be a personal and functional experiencing of the meaning of the entry. For the researcher this experience will always remain the most significant personal and professional growth in the research process. There was a need for prospective participants' permission to share their subjective world of knowledge of what the experience of teaching non-English-speaking immigrant children is like. There was a need for them to trust my credibility for upholding the research ethics promised in the tentative proposal outline sent to them. There was the need for an openness which could reveal the inner experience which videotapes and other technological devices could not capture. When their permission for sharing their worlds was received, the researcher seemed consumed by a fear of being unable to establish a trusting rapport with the participants.

This seemed to occur as a result of the tension that arose "as persons from different worlds seek to establish some basis for dialogue" (Rowles, 1978, p. 179).

A feeling of discomfort made me fear that "my research could not be legitimate if I had felt so uncomfortable" (Rowles, 1978, p. 179). The researcher experienced a constant dialogue with herself to identify the source of this discomfort.

Was this feeling a result of being victim to my own perceptions of how the participants perceived me? Or, was this feeling due to the trust-developing process, through which both researcher and participants must go in order to accomplish "interpersonal knowledge" of the experience to be investigated? Or, was it the result of both? Reflections on the experience revealed that answers lay in both of my suspicions.

In order to overcome the emotions I felt, Rowles' (1978) advice was adopted to shape the remainder of this research stage. This advice includes four basic components:

1) Involvement with Participants

The type of relationship developed with participants is a most critical feature. Emphasis must be placed on interpersonal knowing through dialogue. The development of such a relationship takes time, is patient, and is a growth process (p. 184).

2) Lengthy Time Investment

Building trustful, non-threatening relationships takes time. Lengthy time increases the interaction and a leisurely pace to enhance interpersonal dialogue. This in turn results in more insights into the experience investigated (p. 185).

3) Inductive Inference

The development of a trusting relationship over time facilitates a mutual exploration and interpretation of the participants' experience. The dialogue itself becomes data, reflecting an inductive process as two individuals seek consensual expression of their interpersonal knowing (p. 187).

4) Alternative Modes of Presentation

> When meaning is given to the events of the experience which the participants share, the humanistic aspects are revealed. Reporting such aspects to share the humanistic and creative elements of the investigation should be used (p. 187).

All of the above were necessary in overcoming such barriers involved in entering social and perceptual territories we are often ill-equipped to explore.

This requires "patience in evolving a common language, in establishing a comfortable intimacy" (Rowles, 1978, p. 188). The ingredients of patience, the investment of commitment from the participants, and a complete willingness to enter the most flexible role of my life fashioned the gradual development of mutual relationships. These, in turn, facilitated an interpersonal understanding of the process of learning designed for the child-participants.

M. Data Collecting: Phase I

It was realized at this point that only one small part of the experience of the teachers and the non-English-speaking immigrant children sharing the context of the learning process was intentionally investigated. Here, it was intended only to know

--- how English-speaking teachers established and achieved mutual understanding with the children during teacher planned activities; and

--- how teachers and children shared their subjective understandings of what was to be known.

The teaching learning episodes (all of each session observed) were audiotaped and videotaped. The tapes were transcribed daily and the transcriptions offered to the respective teachers for formal and informal discussions in relation to the following questions:

1. *What was to be known? (The content or curriculum)*
    a. *What were the sources which influenced the content of teacher-initiated activities offered?*

   b. *What evidence of children's personal meaning for learning was reflected in activities? For example, how many of the children's spontaneous and/or deliberate comments and actions are used, or followed up etc., with the children by the teacher?*
   c. *What content seemed excluded to the disadvantage of making obsolete the knowledge which the non-English-speaking children brought to the classroom?*
   d. *What content limited and/or facilitated the quality of information which the child received from the teacher so that s/he could experience successful completion of tasks?*
2. *Why was the specific content important? (The objectives and aims for what is taught)*
   a. *On what did the learning process seem focussed: the dominant social learning or learning how to learn in the new culture?*
   b. *From teachers' language and actions, what was the emphasis of the activities prepared for the non-English-speaking immigrant children?*
   c. *From teachers' language and actions how did the temporal element of being with each other in the process influence learning?*
   d. *From teachers' language and actions what values were perpetuated openly or subtly? For example, was the valuing of a finished product stressed over pursuing that process for the personal meaning one could find in it?*
3. *Who learnt what? Did the content and purpose of the curriculum appear to be designed for both non-English-speaking immigrant children and local children? Or is it only for local children?*
   a. *Were some things taught to some children and not to others?*
   b. *What suggested that there was, or was not, a reciprocal attitude among teachers and children in facilitating learning?*
4. *How were the non-English-speaking immigrant children to know the content? (The teaching strategies and methods for knowing)*
   a. *What influenced the criteria for setting goals, and objectives, and for how*

learning would take place? For example, did what was to be taught in Grade I influence what was taught in the kindergarten classroom?

b. *How was information communicated? For example, did teacher(s) define the concept of "A Family" either as — "Mother, Father, brothers and sisters"?; or, "Parent(s), brother(s), and sister(s)"? Or was the definition left open-ended so as to accommodate the meaning which the Vietnamese, or Spanish child holds for it?*

c. *How did the non-English-speaking immigrant children participate in the process of what was to be known? For example, did they follow the teacher's oral directions* per se*? Or did they imitate the actions of their local peers and so ended up with the result which the teachers anticipated?*

d. *How did the educator participate?*

Discussion responses to the questions stated above were audiotaped and transcribed daily and analyzed by the following thematic approach to making sense of data.

--- Hints of themes which may be found in what were written and remembered were documented.

--- Significant statements were extracted and grouped.

--- Clusters of themes were finally categorized. These were shared with the respective teachers for their input on interpretations.

The findings from Phase 1 provoked a greater need to uncover deeper insights into the relationship in the experience investigated. The question which then arose at this point was: What factors did influence this seemingly trial and error process? An adaptation of Katz' (1977) grid for observing life in pre-school classrooms was used at this point to reflect such factors in Phase II.

N. Phase II: Reflections on the Shaping of the Researcher's Role

The shaping of my role in a "strange" setting cannot be better told than through the following experience which took place in one of the final settings of this study.

The morning was testimony of Nature's splendour of Autumn, in early October. This day spelt excitement, anxiety, tension and some fear. It was my first attempt to enter the contexts of the professional experiences of my principal participants. Each of the three settings seemed to exude a unique human flavour of interaction at first sight. It was in one of these settings that my continued role as the researcher took shape and provided a reminder that those who participated in the research felt caution at the presence of the "stranger" in their midst. There was a need to protect themselves, even if this meant an initial display of mistrust of the researcher's true purpose for investigating the experience.

I could not miss the brightness of the sun which looked into the Southern window and seemed to smile upon the curious faces in Miss Belle's classroom. By this time they had encircled me. Some ventured a quick question; others were merely content to share their bolder friends' expectations of my answers to the questions.

Lentel was one of those whose questioning seemed unending.

> *"What's your name?"*
>
> *"You're a teacher? Where?"*

At this point Miss Belle sought to introduce me formally to her class.

> *"Okay children, this is Ms. Hopkinson. She will be coming in from time to time to look at your work, okay. So, I want you to -- ah -- be very quiet and be on your best behaviour."*

The need was felt to reciprocate in this accepting, feeling, sharing situation. So I thoughtlessly seized on something which I observed about Lentel, the questioning child, who by this time had walked away. Lentel's hair was braided in the style of the Jamaican "mulatto" female. Partly from a feeling of something of an "at-homeness". I therefore commented to Miss Belle

> *She has beautiful curly hair. She reminds me of the mixed Jamaican native female who braids the hair exactly in that style for special ocassions.*

To this remark, Miss Belle sharply retorted,

> *Shirley, white people also have curly hair, you know. Goodness, I hope you don't get too carried away with these people. (Teacher Interview, October, 1983).*

I froze. I seemed to fumble for an appropriate response. All that followed however, was

I'm sorry if I seemed too curious. Of course they do.

I left that classroom emotionally devastated. All of the fears, anxiety and stress of thinking about entering this "strange" environment of the classroom of another culture rushed back into my head. This, undoubtedly was my first mistake in trying to expedite what was a slow, growing process of developing new trusting social relationships. I subsequently resorted to the 'watch-wait-and-listen' role which better helped me to become more "in tune" with the sensitive and mood-varying participants. This helped me to respond in a more neutral way to participants. As such, I gradually learnt not to promote anxiety, but to let the process evolve slowly. In other words, I let the researcher-participant relationship take shape from "the flow of events" thereby giving no indication of an intention to impose an outside structure on those events.

O. Data Collecting: Phase II

By the time this stage was established it was evident that the major question was not simply whether teachers achieved mutual understanding for intersubjective learning with the non-English-speaking immigrant children. Rather, the whole idea of whether or not mutual understanding was achieved seemed to be was wrapped up in numerous other factors which either facilitated or impeded that quality of understanding. For example, the factors of parental expectations as conflict-causing sources for the school and the stress of Grade I teachers' expectations of the Kindergarten teachers and children were only a few of the other significant factors which influenced success for these children. Thus, there was a need to incorporate parents, Grade I teachers and E.S.L. teachers who seem to be a part of this greater picture into the study.

The hermeneutical position asserts that an understanding "of an event or phenomenon cannot be achieved divorced from the whole of which it forms a part" (Watson, 1976, p. 101). Since it seemed that the picture which was evolving was still incomplete without the reactions of the children themselves to the experience of learning in a new system, permission was sought from a total of fifteen parents who responded positively to the invitational letter to incorporate their children's input via their interpreters. Visits were paid to homes to get children's 'stories'.

During these visits either the Spanish or Vietnamese interpreter (also fluent in Chinese) accompanied the researcher and mediated the meanings parents and children held for their experience in school. These sessions were composed of two basic parts.

1) Parents were asked to give a "free" response to how they felt about their children attending kindergarten.
2) Secondly, parents were asked to share responses on what was taught to the child, how that content was taught and what might be their children's feedback on the learning process. Condensed and expanded documentation of observations and verbal translations were made in the daily journal. Themes were also extracted from these responses and are discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

However, two significant aspects of this phase of the research process gave shape to subsequent phases. These are felt worthy of sharing.

1. A specific request for immediate researcher feedback on one teacher's performance was made by the teacher.
2. The evolution of a self-learning model for uncovering the structure of learning in the investigated classroom resulted for the teachers as a response to the above request.

The two foregoing significant aspects are elaborated in the following.

During our discussions of parents' responses, Miss Belle interrupted our discussion of parents' perceptions of their childrens' learning process with the following request:

> *Shirley, I'd really appreciate it if you could tell me how I'm doing.*
> *I'm really trying to reach these kids, but – ah – I don't know —".*

This request took me by surprise. In an effort not to seem unappreciative of her openness and honesty in contributing towards my understanding of her experiences, I responded with

> *Well, I really am not here to evaluate how you are making this experience in that sense. That would pose some problems with regards to my analysis.*
> *However, let me think of a way that I may be able to give you some feedback.*
> *Give me about four visits if you don't mind (Feb., 1984).*

Miss Belle responded,

> *You're the expert. I just think if I know how I'm doing, then I may do better with your help (Teacher Interview, Feb. 7, 1984).*

This dialogue and experience sent me scurrying to research literature to determine what type of feedback could be given, without impeding the natural way of things in this setting.

In this respect, proponents of conventional research caution the risk of the researcher being caught in a "double-bind". Zigarmi (1980) generates some features of what transpired in the researcher's mind as she tried to decide how to keep the promise and yet keep the kind of perspective the researcher's role required. Zigarmi states that

> Despite efforts to avoid the informants' questions, the decisions about participation is a weighing of the ethnographer's motives or inclination to intervene on the one hand against the anticipation of negative consequences on the other. Stress is inevitably experienced if: 1) the ethnographer does not contribute what might be helpful information to those with whom trusting relationships have been developed, which can cause self-guilt and/or informant disappointment and alienation; 2) the ethnographer intervenes in a way that is valued by the informants but which might affect future data collection or the goals of the research; and 3) the ethnographer participates when that participation is neither expected nor accepted (p. 21).

Zigarmi goes on to caution that

> Since the purpose of ethnographic research is to catch the stream of events in its natural flow, ethnographers always seek to be as unobtrusive as possible and to gauge the impact of their participation on the flow (p. 21).

In addition, if

> A more direct intervention, such as sharing feedback and offering advice, may have more serious methodological consequences and, in addition, judging its impact may be difficult (p. 12).

Proponents of an action research tradition on the other hand state that intervention from the outsider's point of view "acts as a vehicle for awareness and self-learning, (where) marginal classes are getting an education that will give them the power to improve their lot" (Strumquist, 1982, p. 18). It was felt that teachers involved in this study seemed to overlook much, through misunderstanding, of their relationship with the non-English-speaking immigrant children in the learning process. The debate on whether to intervene in order to facilitate self-learning and a high level of awareness in these teachers or to claim a high level of non-contamination, gave way to the decision to use the former focus of intervention in the following way.

At the end of the promised four sessions of data, Miss Belle seemed quite caught up with establishing the social rules of her classroom. It seemed to the researcher that she had forgotten the need to get the researcher's opinion on her teaching performance. The researcher on the other hand, felt an ethical obligation to keep her promise and offered Miss Belle's videotaped teaching sessions to her with the following request.

> *With regards to the feedback, kindly view these and reflect on the events. When you are through I would like to share your observations, about how you think you are doing with the kids.*

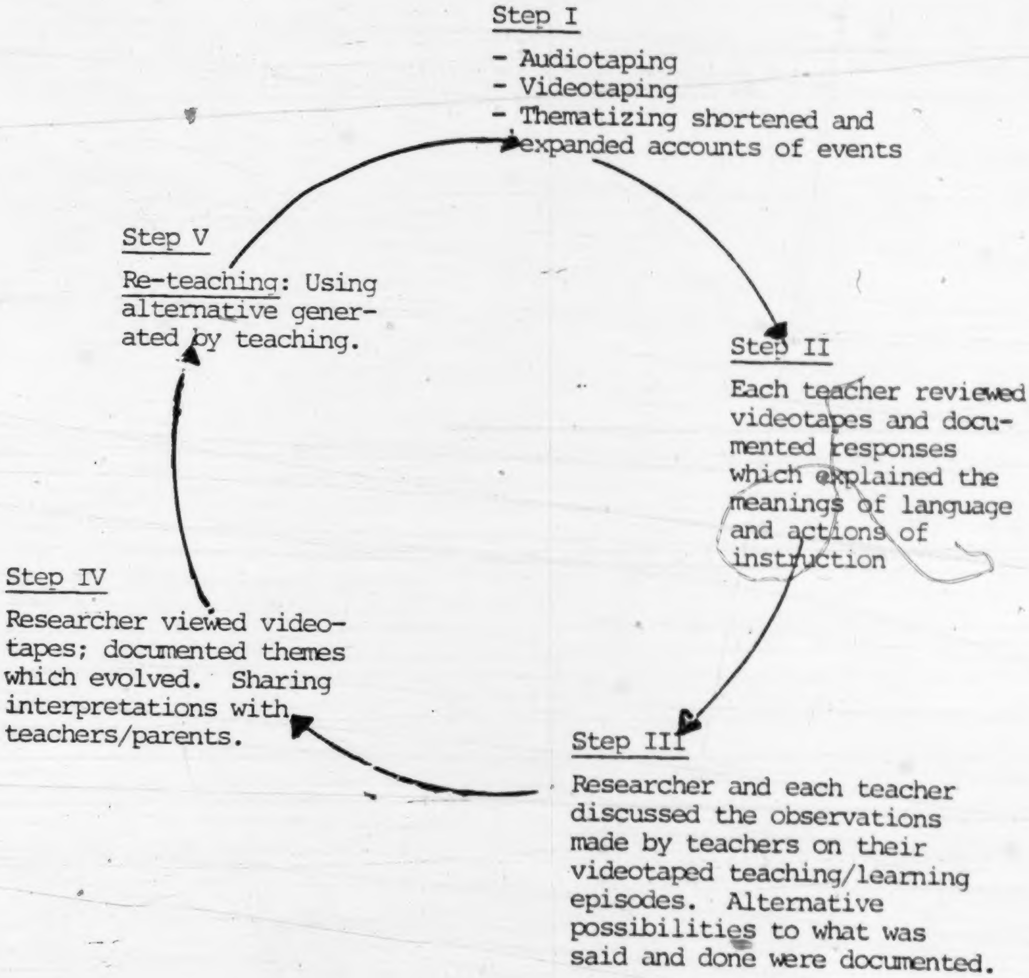
This approach seemed to appeal to the teacher who, on my subsequent visit initiated the feedback discussion at the beginning, rather than after the data collecting session. She remarked "*Hey, Shirley, I'm not as bad a teacher as I thought, you know*". This teacher's enthusiasm was shared only with smiles and warmth.

Miss Belle shared her observations of her teaching process. These were recorded and categorized in terms of teacher beliefs about the learning process for the non-English-speaking immigrant children. These provided a profile of herself and the factors which guided the shaping of her teaching-learning process. This reflection on her teaching performance set in motion a truly collaborative experience of interpreting how the factors identified influenced the shaping of the teaching-learning process. Figure II represents the self-learning process which evolved and helped to facilitate an indepth look at both the surface and deep levels of the teaching-learning experience in each classroom. The process described above provided a structure for teachers to answer questions based on the ***What*, *How*** and ***Why*s** of the life which they shaped for non-English-speaking immigrant children.

P. Phase III: Change Effects of the Research Process

What was initiated as a strategy to avoid being caught in a "double-bind", led to varying levels of change in each of the three research settings, as a result of a process which facilitated the self-learning component for the teachers. It has already

THE REVIEW-REFLECTION-ACTION PROCESS



Step I

- Audiotaping
- Videotaping
- Thematizing shortened and expanded accounts of events

Step II

Each teacher reviewed videotapes and documented responses which explained the meanings of language and actions of instruction

Step III

Researcher and each teacher discussed the observations made by teachers on their videotaped teaching/learning episodes. Alternative possibilities to what was said and done were documented.

Step IV

Researcher viewed videotapes; documented themes which evolved. Sharing interpretations with teachers/parents.

Step V

Re-teaching: Using alternative generated by teaching.

Figure 111.

been stated that proponents of conventional research methodology caution researcher "contamination" of the data collected if this occurs. This especially is claimed to affect the validity of the experience as it exists, as against what the researcher thinks it ought to be (Rowles, 1978; Smith, 1983; Zigarmi, 1980). On the other hand, however, proponents of action-research contribute that the researcher adopt the role of partner with those researched (Borda, 1980; Cole and Nail, 1980). This follows the assumption that those whose experience we seek to know about are closest to the process and can be most effective in implementing alternative strategies to correct the "inequities" of the experience investigated. Emphasis, then, is focussed on the participants taking an active role in the research process. As a result, according to Stromquist (1982), the researcher must also be prepared to intervene. Thus, where more negative possibilities exist would be where more positive action should be focussed. *Intervention here means, conducting activities that cause participants to focus on the experience investigated.* Teachers were able to identify those negative and/or vulnerable areas of the process which they create for the non-English-speaking immigrant children. A greater awareness of the components of their teaching-learning processes and those factors which mainly impede success for the children was experienced through the use of this process.

This process of reviewing and reflecting facilitated a new perspective for teachers on the evaluation of their earlier assumptions that the language difference factor demonstrated by non-English-speaking immigrant children in schools was the most influential factor in determining their failure or success in the education system.

Q. Validity: Anchored in Personal Meaning

It has already been stated that the structure for continued investigation facilitated a mutual and intimate research-participant relationship. As a result, there seemed to be a constant interpretation of meaning by the participants for what was said and done in relation to shaping the learning process for discovering what knowing in a different cultural context is like. As such, validity was constantly anchored in the participants' personal meaning.

Throughout the study, outside checks and cross-checks on interpretations of the re-created contexualized experiences were done in the following way.

1) The Diary:

In the full year's Elementary Education doctoral Language Arts course, sample pages of documentation and interpretations were presented to professor and peers. Discussions of other, or similar interpretations were shared. These were returned to participants for their rejections, confirmations and/or for casting new light where I seemed to have misinterpreted what was said, or about what was done.

2) The Journal:

This was read and discussed by a non-educationist. The purpose was to get the opinion of one who was not bound to the context of teaching per se. Themes which were identified were cross-checked. Explanations were given both similar and different themes. These were then discussed with participants for their impressions. In some instances however, but especially where participants claimed a neutral stand about the "whys" of certain aspects of the education system, the researcher's interpretations were used.

3) The Videotapes

These were evaluated first by the relevant teachers who documented, what in the tapes indicated their goals were reached, or not reached. The reasons why, or why goals were not realized; the alternatives which could ensure the realization of goals were discussed. Videotapes were viewed by the researcher. Themes were identified for clarification and the interpretation of meanings.

The foregoing were checked and further questions were discussed with participants.

Seeking the meaning of the experience from participants themselves through the strategies described above was primarily anchored in,

> a sense of meaning that others (the participants) give to their own situations through an interpretive understanding of their language, gestures and politics (Smith, 1983, p. 12).

Validity from the insider's meaning was met via the following strategies which are supported by various researchers (Cicero and Sevigny, 1983; Sevigny, 1983).

a) Saturation in the research setting: Eighteen months were spent in the research settings. A minimum of one visit per week was made to each classroom. This duration facilitated observation of the many social, physical, temporal and other factors which significantly affected both educator and learner.

b) Triangulation: Other plausible interpretations (than those of the researcher) were invited from different participant perspectives, while also allowing for cross-validation (Sevigny, 1983).

c) Multi-modal techniques : Audio-taping, video-taping, formal and informal interviewing were used in the data collection. These all presented the language and actions of participants in context for cuing reflections on the events for which meaning was sought (Cicero and Sevigny, 1983, p. 78).

R. Presentation of Analysis

In deciding on the format for presenting the analysis of the collected data, the concerns of one school principal reminded the researcher of the need to share the experience of the participants' lives while at the same time protecting the efforts of their contributions to assisting the research to be a reality. He contributed these concerns in the following way.

> Too many researchers from the University seem to prey on the people they research. They only seem to criticize and offer little help. And this hurts the people who do their damnedest to cope with all the many constraints they face. (Teacher Interview, May, 1984)

The foregoing influenced the subsequent discussions with participants in terms of presenting greater focus on the positive efforts of those who made the study possible.

The decision on a mode of presentation which would tell the stories of teachers, students, parents and administrators in their own voices posed what seemed to be the most frustrating component of this study. Several styles did not seem to let the experiences of real people in a real world tell their story as it had meaning for them. The following forms were finally decided on.

1) An adaptation of Katz' (1977) grid for observations in pre-school settings would be used to reflect the factors which influence the process in each pre-school setting. These would be elaborated on in the chapters discussing the analysis of data where "Slices of data", as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1980), will punctuate the discussions in order to convey meanings which Phases I and II of the research produced.
2) An hermeneutical interpretation of the deeper level of meaning will also be

presented in thematic discussions.

The foregoing combined forms of presentation are intended to share the experiential accounts of those who own the meaning of having to shape a learning process for non-English-speaking immigrant children in three English-speaking classrooms.

V. PRESENTATION OF DATA

A. Introduction

At the end of this Pre-study phase, the following major points emerged from the discussions with the school system personnel, principals and teachers:

1) --- *The extent to which non-English-speaking children demonstrated the use of a language which is different to that used for instruction influenced their chances of failure or success at school programs.*

2) --- *Oral language was still the principal factor for indicating the potential for learning successfully in the programs shaped for the non-English-speaking children.*

3) --- *The cultural influences of oral discourse did not seem to be significant to educators in helping the non-English-speaking immigrant children to learn second culture content.*

The data also reflected that school board officials, principals, teachers, and parents each perceived the function of life and education differently for non-English-speaking immigrant children in multi-cultural classrooms. School board officials saw that function as a process whereby these children would be able to function comfortably in both their heritage and second cultures. Whether the teacher resources were adequate to ensure that this function was realized was not indicated by this category of significant Others who shape the education system. Principals saw the function of education as one for the survival of the fittest for both teachers and children. The teachers also saw the function from their own need to survive professionally and physically in the system. Role performance satisfaction, through which teachers were responsible for taking children from point A to point B in the knowledge which the school legitimizes overruled the children's need to experience a feeling of security in the process of cultural transition.

Parents on the other hand saw the educational life for their children as a linear experience with promises for a more rapid financial and social mobility in the second culture society. It was evident that each significant Other in the three educational contexts continually experienced conflicts of identification. These conflicts were related to the teachers' actual performance and that performance in relation to the larger scope of things as far as the children's cultural transition and attitudinal reconstruction in second culture ways were concerned.

The following stories demonstrate some of the parental expectations of the school and educational experience as sources of that new life. Stories Of Hope From Parent Interview Data

a) October, 1983

Nal's grandma, a Guyanese descendant of East Indian origin comes from a monied family. She very earnestly says, as if reminiscing on what she sacrificed to bring her grand-daughter to Edmonton,

> *"There is nothing at home for her anymore. Here at least she is free to work and live without fear. All she got to do is to take in her school work, and she can live in peace and have a better life for herself".*

b) October, 1983

Tae, of Vietnam, has lived in a cell for prisoners of war. At the age of three, he and his father were seized by soldiers for attempting to flee their country by "the Boat".

Tae was confined to his cell among other adult male prisoners for three horrendous years. Then Tae and his dad successfully escaped by boat to Canada.

Tae's dad has now given up on his responsibilities to his son. These are now taken care of by social agencies in the society. He now simply sits in the inner-city apartment where he simply exists in himself. He sometimes sits in one spot for hours as if in a trance. Tae has become just another object in the house. He relies almost completely on the sympathy and empathy of hopeful interpreters and Social Services personnel for assistance which ranges from grocery shopping to the cashing of cheques. Tae shops, cleans and attends school. Through an interpreter Tae's dad assured,

> *"This land is alright for now. I think only of the ones I left at home.*
> *Tae can ---- the school ~~knew~~ best about what to do for him to get through.*
> *He will be alright in school. His teacher will take care of everything.*
> *He will be alright.*

c) June, 1984

Ziza's El Salvadorian parents continuously expressed the concern and hope for little Ziza in the following way:

> "If teacher could allow time for my Ziza to learn the English, we can help her with things (school content) at home.
> We do anything to make her get an education ---- cause nothing like this (schooling) can happen in my home country.
> It's frightening.
> We can tell you --- only her English we worried about, --- but ah -- every thing could be alright if she can be patient with Ziza and the English.

d) September, 1984

Cal is fluently bilingual by the eighth month of this school year. He nevertheless experiences a conflict between the values of his home and school. He is his dad's pride and joy. Dad knows his son has to "make it here" as he says:

> "He's got to be a man and he can only learn to be a man here.
> I have seen so much at home and I know that war we fight at home, and I know that war doesn't make a man -- a man.
> A man got to know what and why he fighting. But with our war -- ha -- no body know what the hell's going on.
> My son will be a man --- school will have to do it. He will get opportunities to be a man in lots of other ways."

e) Dun's parents were most fortunate to have established the family in a suburban area on arrival as they managed to leave with a large sum of money. Although China, his country of origin, was more peaceful than those of the countries mentioned above,

Dun's parents see Canada as, "a place where their son can grow to be his own man. To think for himself and not have other people control him.

"If he can get through school, we have the money to send him to High School and University so that he could live a better life" (May, 1984).

The following indicates the perceived inadequacies teachers expressed with respect to their teaching. Teachers Experienced Conflicts With Their Own Definitions Of Teaching

The Principal of School C expressed the concern that his teacher felt that as she watched her teaching episodes with her added focus on the Non-English-speaking *immigrant children, she seemed to question her feeling of being a good teacher for nine years. In his words, "It's like getting into a new ideology" (May, 1984). At the same time however, what teachers learnt about themselves as they effected the teaching-learning process set them thinking about their methodology for future multi-ethnic populations in their classrooms.*

The essence of this research process resulted to some extent in a self-learning and change process for the three teachers involved. This in turn resulted from the sensitizing which occurred after reviewing their videotaped teaching sessions which focussed on how the process of learning for Non-English-speaking immigrant children was shaped. As teachers became aware of the research activity on a daily basis, they learnt more about themselves and of the existing learning processes for the non-English-speaking immigrant children.

The themes which emerged from this self-learning process were categorized in the following way:

THEME A

Time, The Process And What Has To Be Learnt:

The data seemed to indicate that teachers felt that what the non-English-speaking children needed to learn had to be taught in the same way it was taught to local children. Two reasons were given for this:

i) It was presumed that there was not enough time to wait until the non-English-speaking children could express what they knew in Standard English, before they were taught the "*basics* " (Teacher Interview, November, 1983).

ii) Non-English-speaking immigrant children were presumed to experience a "hard time" (Miss Chase, June, 1984) when they arrived in Grade I not knowing "*basic concepts*". This made kindergarten teachers feel pressured to teach in a manner to prepare the children for Grade I experience, *inspite of this not being a policy of the Early Childhood Services.* One feature of the teaching process was therefore teaching to another time and place.

THEME B

Teaching/Learning Involves Oral Language Which Is Not Shared By The Non-English Speaking Immigrant Children

This frustrated teachers who seemed to indicate that they could not be sure whether the children were sharing the teachers' understandings of the content. Teachers survived the frustrations by choosing to move on with the content which would be *tested* at the end of the school year. This choice did not guarantee failure or success for non-English-speaking children. Examples of original protocols from discussions which supported these themes are as follows: stated above are as follows.

> "I'ld love to focus on other things but let's face it they have to know certain things before they get to Grade I. If not, she (the Grade I teacher) would have the School Board breathing down my back for teacher-incompetence".
>
> "It's important that they know their shapes, colours, --- their alphabet, their names. These are quite important or they'll be lost in Grade I".
>
> "Maybe what they do (tasks for knowing) don't guarantee any learning --- but (shrugs shoulder)".
>
> "To let the time be used to build activities from their interests --- you know --- will take forever. It's okay to say let them develop at their rate but there is so much everyone expects from you (teacher). You just have to get the basics in".
>
> "I get them to trust me first and to help them to learn how to socialize first".
>
> "They need to know how to socialize in our ways, then they could get on to subject areas. If not, you're just wasting time, yours, theirs and creating more problems".
>
> "If there was more time --- they need more time --- a kindergarten - Grade I perhaps where they could have more time --- where I could take them beyond the regular subjects --- you know".
>
> "Sometimes you have to take charge if you're going to get through with all they (administrators) want you to do".
>
> "Time doesn't allow you to spread yourself too thin. I've seen teachers who try to work with what the child comes with, but then you have to focus on what they have to go to Grade I with" (this time is not their time; their time is for a future time?).

Examples of statements which support theme B in the foregoing are:

> "They have to communicate with you some way --- but it takes time to do it through language. You have to get on and hope that they will catch on to what we mean and what is said" (Knowing is a developmental process).
>
> "It's a two way process you know --- which --- I'm not sure I make it (learning) happen".
>
> "What they end up doing (finished product) is done in a context that their peers and themselves work out. I don't think I can take credit coming to think of it".
>
> "I never even really stopped to figure out how they learn. They get more teaching from their peers in the classroom. They (peers) seem to really empathize more with them (the immigrant children)".
>
> "They (the native child) look for cues and they figure out what you're talking about and then they help them (immigrant child) to figure out what has to be done".
>
> "They learn as they follow the actions and behaviours of their peers".
>
> "They also figure out from what the teacher says and how she behaves --- to decide when they're doing the right ways".
>
> "Without the ability to communicate then sometimes, he is misunderstood and then he's labelled learning disabled or abandoned in the E.S.L. class".

The themes stated above and the statements demonstrated great concern, on the teachers' behalf, for a *need to find a way* to do *a better job* with the children. There seemed to be a yearning for "a way"; one that would give the assurance of more overt proof that teaching (instructional strategies) could cause the children to know what must be known. The interaction between teacher and child; the verbalizing on teachers' behalf; the way things are, do not tell the teacher that she caused that learning to take place. It was as though the "how-to-be" with the children was of more concern and could be given in answers from the teacher training institutions. On the other hand, the content for these children seemed pre-defined, and was perceived as accomplishable in a linear approach to learning it. Content seemed set towards a time to come in the future stages of school life, for example, Grade I.

THEME C

A teaching style was a function of one's personality. The following would exemplify this theme.

In classrooms A and B, the composition of the ethnic and cultural backgrounds were similar. However, in most cases when children's responses in Classroom B did not match Miss Belle's expectations, the children were almost always blamed for not knowing. When Miss Belle thought that it was obvious to the researcher that a child, or children, had no fault for misunderstanding instructions, or what was required of them, then the teacher's blame shifted to --- "parents not helping them to understand English". However, at the end of the eighth month when Leoto, who was described as having "reached a plateau" (Feb. 1984) in his learning responded correctly to about 65% of the items on a mathematics test, Miss Belle expressed sole claim to Leoto's achievement. The researcher tried to determine how this evaluation was made, after the previous evaluation of this child. Her response was "I don't know, it's just me I guess. I keep at them" (Teacher Interview; Feb. 1984). The end product of planned activities in this classroom seemed more important than how the process affected the outcomes whether these were what the teacher did or did not expect. This perceived priority seemed to create additional difficulties for Miss Belle in shaping the "learning" for the non-English-speaking immigrant children.

On the other hand, in Classroom A, the children who seemed not to understand were not blamed for not knowing. Rather, this teacher blamed the policy makers at the political and educational top administration. In the case of the former, Miss Avery felt that the decisions to permit Canada to "welcome with open arms those people from countries in turmoil" (June 1984) have to be thought about more carefully. She thought that "they cannot expect to end their responsibilities when these people get here" (June 1984). In the case of the latter group of administrators, the education system needed to review the features of schooling. Specifically, Miss Avery felt that the age-grade admission-promotion feature, as well as the length of time any child was expected to spend in one grade had to be left to the decision of the particular school and not be generalized throughout any school district. In this classroom, the process and outcomes were a direct result of a mismatch of the realities at the school level and that of the political level of the *society. This situation was one source of this teacher's conflicts in her decision to teach for the survival of herself and that of the non-English-speaking immigrant children, or to teach in the traditional manner for the local learner. Her decisions were often made on an individual basis. There were fewer "failures" in this classroom in June, 1984 than in Classroom B.*

THEME D

If one is to know how to improve one's teaching style, or ensure greater success for learners, then one has to generate critical input on what exists on a constant basis.

One example of this theme was seen when Miss Avery changed her strategy in her story-reading activity after realizing that she conducted a one-person activity by reading a story to which the children could not relate through their heritage backgrounds. Subsequent story reading activities demonstrated that these children participated much more when their input was accommodated and the teacher built on the children's alternative experiences. An example of the cooperative story-building exercise between teacher and children is demonstrated in the following pages.

Children's Non-Verbal/Verbal Participation	Teacher's Questions, Motivation/ Contributions
	Okay, if you move around, you're not allowed to go to the gym, okay. It's your choice. Find a place where you're comfortable. Now, I have a tory. It's called - "The Chicken's Child" by — It's written by "Margaret Orthelius.
(Text)	Oh — look at that. Is that a chicken?
	Okay, this is chicken called a hen. That's a mother chicken.
(Instead of reading text teacher allows children to explore the ideas, sequence and main ideas as suggested by the pictures.)	
Who is she calling?	
The man.	
The farmer.	
	The farmer
(To predict)	What do you think the farmer is going to do?
Fishing.	
(Seeking the stereotyped definition of a farmer.)	
	Is that usually what farmers do?
	What's the farmer got in his hand?
Worms?	
	Why does the farmer need worms?
So the fish would bite the hook?	
	So the fish would bite the hook - right. What are some other jobs the farmer does?

He feeds the cows.	
	Yes.
He gives food to —	
	To who?
The animals.	
	Okay.
And he gets the eggs.	
And he milks the cow.	
	He milks the cows. Do all farmers have a lot of animals on their farms?
Yes. Some	
	Us
And he feeds the horses?	
	He feeds the horses - right. But do all farmers have a lot of animals on their farm?
Yeh.	
	No - not all farmers have a lot of animals on their farms. Some farmers just grow vegetables; some just grow wheat. But what's this farmer going to do?
Fishing.	
	Who's helping him?
A chicken.	
	What do you call this kind of chicken?
The hen.	
	A hen - a mother chicken. How is she helping the farmer?
Picking worms out.	

Taking the worms out of the —; what's this called? What's this thing that the worms are in?

A can.

A can. Where is he taking the worms?

He's going to the mountains with a fishing rope and then he's gonna throw it in and catch a fish. And then he's going to have a rook.

Does the farmer look as though he's happy, having the hen pick the worms out of the can.

No.

What do you think the farmer is telling the hen?

Bring it back. Leave them.

Yes. I think he's telling them to leave them alone. So what do you think the hen does?

Sit over the egg.

She.

Or he goes away and — you think that's his egg?

No.

So what does a hen do?

Sits on the egg.

Sits on the egg.

Why does the hen sit on the egg?

(Lesson begins to go full circle to that which was taught - transmitted about - The Hatching of Eggs in Incubators. Teacher begins to ask questions which give answers which indicate a pre-defined way of seeing the idea.)

Because it might have one of his baby chicks.

It might be one of his baby chicks too - you're right.

(Lesson question)

Why does the hen sit on the eggs?

To keep it warm.

(Teacher's answer)

To keep it warm.

And ever so often the hen turns the eggs around.

(Information given when lesson was done on hatching of chicks.)

(Back to the picture book)

What's in that egg?

A crocodile. A baby crocodile.

It may be a baby alligator. Do hens have baby alligators?

No. They have baby chicks.

Oh. What's the farmer going like this about. (Farmer and other animals are staring amazed at the alligator coming out of the egg.)

Thinking.

He's thinking. I think maybe he's wondering too. All the other animals are wondering to. What animal is this?

A duck.

A duck. What animal is this?

A goose.

No. This one here is a turkey. This one here is a ---?

Goose.

Goose. What sound does a duck make?

(Chorus)
Quack, quack, quack.

What sound does a turkey make?

(One child)
Gobble, gobble.

Gobble, gobble. What sound does a goose make?

Umhm, umhm.

They are wondering how this hen got this what —?

Baby alligator.

Okay. Do they seem to like each other? The hen and the alligator?

Yeh/No/Yeh.

Do they seem to be getting along ?

N — Yes.

Okay.

He's growing big.

Oh - He's growing bigger and bigger. Is it as high? Higher than the hen now?

And now?
Wow.

Oh my God!!

Do you think an alligator belongs on a farm?

No.

But do you think that he likes being on the farm now?

Yes.

What's he (alligator) doing here?

Eating the pumpkin.

Do you think that the farmer is gonna like that?

No.

What's he doing here? What's he eating here?

Corn.

Do you think the hen likes that?

No.

The hen wants him to stop.

Oh - What's happening here?

He's sa-a-d.

Why do you think he's sad?

Cause the hen told him to stop.

What did he do?

He ate all the corn.

But he gets much bigger.

Yeh. He's getting bigger. Do you think the hens want - what are these things in the basket?

Mangoes. (Chinese fruit)

No they're not mangoes - they're apples.

Apples.

But if you lived in Jamaica — Where did you come from ?

Guyana.

Guyana. If you come from Guyana then they could be mangoes.

(Offering a dual cultural significance to accommodate child's experience with fruit in picture.)

Okay, so the hen told the alligator, not to eat the apple. Do you think that he would not eat the apples?

Eat, eat, eat. (Vietnamese child)

What's he doing?

Eating.

The ladder.

Did the alligator listen very good?

(Chorus)
No.

No. And now what's he eating.

The ladder.

Do you think the ladder would make him sick.

Ah - oh -

It might. I don't know. What's happening.

Pancakes.

Well, they're not pancakes. They're pies. They're like pancakes.

Pie.

So, is he eating them. Who's the hen talking to?

The goose.

The goose. What sound does the goose make?

Quack, quack.

No. Umhm - Umhm.

Okay, and what else. This is called a what?

Washtub.

This is called a washtub. And this is called a washboard. Longtime ago they used to use this to wash clothes on. I'll bring one to school tomorrow. I'll write the words on the board.

You used to wash clothes like that (uses hands to create scrubbing action). You remember when we went to John Walters, you remember how we washed the clothes and we made our own ice cream.

Yes.

Oh, oh. Who's peeking from behind the tree?

A fox.

What did he do here?

A tub.

A pail. A scoop. And this is called?

A pipe.

It's made of pipes. It's called a pump. On the farm some farmers have to get water through a pump. You go like this and then you get water out of there - okay.

What's the hen doing to the alligator now? What's he doing now?

Eating the tractor.

What do they use a tractor for?

To plant the wheat. To dig up the ground.

Yes, they use it to plough up the ground. It's called cultivating the grounds.

Could he eat the whole tractor?

Yeh.

I think so. He ate this. What's this called?

The wheel.

The steering wheel. What's this guy saying?

Go away.

Why does he want him to go away?

Cause he's eating everything.

Cause he's bigger.

Who's this hiding behind the tree?

Fox.

The themes and statements stated above demonstrated great concern on the teachers' behalf, for a *need to find a way* to do *a better job* with the children. There seemed to be a yearning for "a way"; one that would give the assurance of more overt proof that teaching (instructional strategies) could cause the children to know what must be known. The interaction between teacher and child; the verbalizing on teachers' behalf; the way things are, do not tell the teacher that she caused that learning to take place. It was as though the "how-to-be" with the children was of more concern and could be given in answers from the teacher training institutions. On the other hand, the content for these children seemed pre-defined, and was perceived as accomplishable in a linear approach to learning it. Content seemed set towards a time to come in the future stages of school life, for example, Grade I.

The foregoing findings provoked a greater need to uncover deeper insights into the relationship in the experience investigated. The question which then arose at this point was : What factors did influence this seemingly trial and error process? Katz (1972) grid for observing life in pre-school classrooms was used at this point to reflect such factors in Phase II of the collecting and analysis of the data.

B. The Three Second Culture Classroom Learning Environments For Non-English-Speaking-Immigrant Children

The data showed that before the kindergarten teachers reflected on their videotaped teaching behaviours on relating to the non-English-speaking-immigrant children, they perceived the differences which the latter brought to the multicultural classroom as 'deficits'. It has already been stated that teachers explained that their perceptions were not intended to add to the problems of insecurity and low self-esteem. Rather they believed that their perceptions were due to their own lack of knowing another way by which they could respond to, and use those differences to the advantage of creating a better life for all in their respective classrooms. The alternative behaviours of the teachers then was to resort to wishing that those differences were not there, or that they would go away as quickly as the children would let them. Having decided that they did not know a better way of creating life for these children in the classroom, teachers' verbal and non-verbal behaviour showed that the same instructions were used in their usual manner of teaching for all children. The forlorn looks on the faces of the immigrant children often revealed that they could not match their teachers' verbal behaviours to the academic or social behaviour that was expected of them. Teachers nevertheless moved on to other activities, or instructions leaving confused non-English-speaking children to rely on the actions which their second culture peers seemed to match with the teacher's verbal requests. Bit by bit the former children seemed dazed as they hovered around the latter trying to get some meaning of what the appropriate social and/or academic behaviours were supposed to be. It was quite evident that although all children were exposed to a similar treatment and the same material, the non-English-speaking-immigrant children nonetheless began the experience of life in the second culture classroom with an unequal chance of succeeding at the academic program. A daily but unintentional battering of these children's self-esteem and need for finding security in the life of these classrooms consequently resulted from this unifying approach. Since no other mode of communication with the new immigrant children was used to make a connection for understanding the appropriate acceptable social behaviours which made up the life in these classrooms, often cross-purposes in behaviours arose among teachers and these children.

For example, one Japanese child took off his shoes before entering the classroom, even on cold winter days. This social behavour in his original culture signified a mark of respect when venturing into the spaces for higher levels of knowledge or wisdom. The teacher's response was to provide a lecture about "we don't take off our shoes in this classroom." This difference was pointed out without the concrete reason of the weather element or any other being explained to the child. The child's response was to stare in confusion at his teacher who seemed to him, to be upset with something he perceived as being "right". When he did not replace his shoes for sometime but just stood there, the teacher simply moved on to bring her class to order, remarking to the second culture children who were already seated for the day's large group activity,

"He'll put them on when he's ready. Let's get on with what we have to do." The above example was one of the many misunderstandings which permeated the learning environments. These accumulated misunderstandings in turn constantly reinforced the feeling that teachers' perceptions of the social relationships with the immigrants is one which still differentiated between "Us and Them". Initially there was no understanding of that relationship as one which described the "We" in the life which was experienced in these classrooms. Each classroom environment demonstrated the difficulties which arose from cross-purposes when only the verbal English-mode of teaching was used to create life for both non-English-speaking-immigrant children and the children of the second culture in exactly the same manner of teaching.

CLASSROOM A:

As I entered the doorway to the classroom in an unobtrusive manner, I caught a glimpse of Miss Avery arranging craft materials on one of her child-sized tables. As she turned around she tripped on a tiny Vietnamese girl who was quietly moving in the shadow of her teacher as she set up the craft table. Miss Avery hastened to apologize as she simultaneously engulfed Ingrid in her arms and hugged her most fondly. As other children entered the classroom and in their non-verbal ways greeted their teacher, she always divorced herself from whatever she was doing to make some physical contact as her way of welcoming each child. In short, Miss Avery worked at demonstrating an atmosphere of welcome, of acceptance and of seeming protection for children who demonstrated fear of rejection as a result of being different. Miss Avery realized eventually that I had arrived and greeted me as warmly as she could. Having ushered me in, she gave me a guided tour of her very cozy classroom.

One aspect was particularly evident in the physical organization and symbolic representation in this classroom. That is, there were many open-ended manipulative materials, brightly coloured and in graded sizes. These were arranged at very accessible heights and in relationship to complementary materials. For example, the flexible 'play house' is adjacent to the block and stuffed toys areas. The combination of these three areas facilitated shifting materials among all three to create much quality and extensive symbolic play. Separating walls also allowed children to work alone but at the same time to be in approximate view of their English-speaking peers and their teacher. Somehow, this lent itself to a mutual understanding of who the supporting figure in the environment was while allowing the teacher to keep in touch with the immigrant children's initiated activities and social behaviour. The teacher could also receive the necessary cues which indicated the appropriate time for her intervention and extension, and/or, time for her provision of parallel Standard English structures for labelling and discussing their activities.

Beyond the first impression of the learning environment there was a more subtle pedagogical underpinning which influenced how learning was actually experienced by the immigrant children. That was that in every teacher-initiated activity, Miss Avery demonstrated a genius for ensuring that she transmitted her culturally pre-defined ideas of each concept of that activity. Even when the second culture classroom child offered a personal perspective of the experience in his/her immature way, Miss Avery always seemed to circumvent, or overlook these contributions and somehow returned to the immediate sequence of her predetermined ideas. There was also an apparent obsession habit of structuring questions to evaluate children's knowledge of the concepts of the activities in order to retrieve the exact language which she transmitted in relation to those concepts. There was no evidence of opportunities for the new immigrant children's perspectives. This, on first impression, seemed to reflect only the teacher's subjective experience shared in a specific time slot. It was evident from this one-sided situation that the new immigrant children learnt to play the "academic game" in which they figured out the roles and responses desired by the teacher. These children who had not yet felt the security of responding appropriately in Standard English structures, just stared at the teacher. The latter then requested the appropriate responses from the second culture children who always seemed to have the correct answers. But, if the child(ren) who always seemed to know the correct answers did not reproduce the information exactly as it was given by the teacher, the teacher asked a host of "fill-in-the-blank" questions. These then led to the children producing the information as it was originally transmitted by the teacher. In short, the process of learning created by Miss Avery was characterized by the giving of pre-defined ideas which could be accessed in a predictable manner and according to Miss Avery's expectations. Following is an example of some characteristics of learning to become a competent student in the second culture classroom.

Topic: The Hatching Of Chickens — from the original data

Column A represents the children's language and actions; while Column B represents the teacher's language and actions in relation to the activity.

a) Context: 1) The Chicken Box; five new born chicks;
five Oriental children; one Canadian child.

Topic: The Baby Chicks.

Context: Sharing What Was Learned Today. Teacher Selects
Speaker Who Tells What S/he Learned.

(Introduction of baby chicks to large group)

Column A	Column B	
Nal:	"Ah, when our baby chicks. What's that machine that our baby chicks are in?"	1
	"What's it called?"	2
"Machine."	"Machine. It's called an incubator."	3
(Children attempting to contribute but verbalizations not used.)	"And these are baby chicks. Pretty soon our baby chicks will be using their beaks to peck out of their eggs.	4
	They start at the egg shells, and they're going to come out like this. (Shows an empty egg shell.)	5
	"Okay, some people will be going with Mrs. X (the Aide) and some will come with me --- we're going to work on X's farm."	6
	"When you're around the baby chicks we cannot build with the blocks near them. Also, we must not make any noise around them. Also, we must never, never touch this (lamp) since --	7

it is very, very hot."

"The baby chicks, you could look at them, and maybe you could pet them with one finger, but do-o-n't pick them up and take them out of the box. They don't leave the box because if everyone picks them up they'll get sick. You can pet them like this --- okay?" 8

Nal: Only pat them right? 9
Ana: They're soft and fluffy. 10
Richard: They feel warm. 11
Nal: Owwow. (Chick pecks her.) 12
Ana: They're babies so we can sing to them. You gotta be gentle to them. Just like real babies at home. 13
Richard: How come this one keeps standing there? 14
Ana: Maybe I'll have to give him a kiss. (Does this follow from the idea of what a baby needs?) 15
Richard: Hey, be quiet. I'm gonna feed him. (In fond tone.) He-e-ey baby. 16
Nal: Hey what do you say. You wanna go? Okay, you --- baby chicken you can go now. 17
Baby chicken, you alright? 18
Nal: Look at how they turn their heads to look: to see the food. (Annh in Chinese.) 19
Richard: Hey bring that chick over here. Hey! That's my baby. 20

Nal: Quiet! Be quiet. 21

Richard: Okay, you yum yum. I'll protect you. He's not gonna hurt you. (Vietnamese) 22

Reg: Chicks die when you squeeze them. 23

Richard: How do they eat? 24

Reg: They got a beak to do that. 25

Richard: This one looks tired 26

(Teacher changes the group. New group interacts with chicks.)

Nal: Hello, chicks. How do you do? 27

Ana: Tino, don't hold it. 28

Nal: Alls them is pretty. He's eating so they can eat. He's 29

Richard: --- get that one for him.

Nal: I like to look at them. I sit over there and look at them. Just look at them, don't touch them. 30

Richard: Do you think they eat they pooh? Nah. 31

Nal: They're okay. Hey, go around. 32

Richard: This one looks asleep. 33

Nal: He is asleep. Chick, can you hear the radio? (Tape recorder in box.) 34

Nal: Don't put the bear in there. 36

Richard: It's a care bear. He's sleeping. 37

Nal: Sometimes they hear music and sleep. 38

Richard: No, they play with the bear to go to sleep. 39

Nal: Yeh. Sometimes they dance with the music. 40

Richard: And sometimes they say A-B-C's. Doh, Ray, Me. 41

Nal: Yeh. (All sing.) 42

Richard: And how about --- an--- 1, 2, 3. 43

Ana: Don't touch that one. He's asleep. 44

(Teacher arrives.)

Nal: Tino touched the lamp. 45

Teacher: That was an accident, right? 46

Tino: Yeh. 47

Teacher: Don't touch the light. That's to keep them warm or they'll get sick. What colour are the chicks? 48

All Answer: Yellow 49

Teacher: And what's down on the front of the baby chicks? 50

Ana: Beaks. 51

Teacher: And what do they do with the beak? 52

Nal: To eat. 53

Teacher: And what's in between the beak? (Meaning to get the answer --- tongue.) 54

Nal: Leather. 55

Teacher: But what is in between the leather. 56

Nal: Bread. 57

Teacher: But what is in the feed. 58

Nal: Seeds. 59

Teacher: Yeh --- but what else? What's this stuff? 60

Nal: Water. (After teacher squeezes a crumb.) 61

(Teacher departs.)

Richard: They're not no sisters. If they grow up with mammie. 62
If it's; if it's brother, then it grows up like a daddy. 63

Nal: Yeh --- Ah know. 64

Richard: They can't ride. They can't ride my truck. 65

Tino (8 times) They can't drive. 66

Nal: Why not? 67

Richard: Hello mamme. 68

Ana: He's got four legs (veins which hold together.) 69

Richard: We like em. We like em. That's what the babies say. (Babies who advertise our Pampers commercial on television.) Mammie, we like Pampers. 70

Nal: She's upstairs or downstairs. 71

Richard: Upstairs. 72

Nal: Sweetie, sweetie, come down. Where's daddy sweetie? You're gonna grow into a big boy chick. 73

Nal: No girl chick. 74

Richard: He's impressed with his beak. You know what he's impressed with his beak. 75

Nal: Come to mammie. We like you. (Intonation varies to imitate adult and child role play.) 76

Richard: It's recess now. Come to mammie. 77

Nal: Look what he's doing. He's eating. 78

Richard: He smell the food. Come on, softly (how to pet them) softly okay. 79

Nal: Sings: Silent Night while patting chicks. 80

Dialogue between Miss Avery and Richard on the Same Activity --- "The Hatching Of Baby Chicks".

Miss Avery	Richard	
"What would you like to tell us today, Richard?"	(Scared, quiet, passive look for a few seconds.)	81
"Richard?"		82
	"I have an incubator at home."	83
"Oh, do you?"		84
	(Nods his head in the affirmative.)	85
"What do you do with it? You hatched eggs?"		86
	"Yes."	87
"How many eggs did you hatch?"		88
	"Six." (Same number as classroom chicks.)	89
"What colour are the chicks?"		90
	"Yellow."	91
"What colour are their beaks?"		92
	"White."	93

"What colour are their eyes?"

"Brown."
(Richard continues to invent
his story.)
"I have five incubators at home."

1. Lines 81 through 93 recreates the teacher's verbal information which determined the direction in which she intended all children would proceed to learn about the hatching of chicks.
2. Lines 1 through 80 demonstrates a different, but more qualitative exchange of ideas among immigrant and native peers (three Orientals and two Canadians). In addition to brainstorming ideas as they have experienced them, either through literature or empirically These exchanges reflected several of the basic rules for the creation of successful and personal meaning in communicative competence. For example,

   --- children took turns to extend on each other's ideas as in line 23 where the concept of real life experiences: 'mother-child/baby' relationships were transferred to the chick-hatching situation. In limited language structures different children kept that concept alive through to line 45,

"Okay, you yum yum, I'll protect you. He's not gonna hurt you."

From lines 33 through 44 the concept of caring extends into "putting baby to sleep." Children applied the notion of mothering to their personal experiences.

But, from lines 49 through 61, the nature of the quality exchange disappears as the teacher enters the social context. Each of the exchanges reflected a quest for regurgitating the facts transmitted on the previous day about newly hatched chicks. The test for knowledge of the concepts of definition (incubator), of colour (yellow), of parts of the body (head, back etc.), of functions of parts (beaks for eating), is the teacher's primary goal. What is apparent to this point is that both immigrant and second culture children have been pressured to reveal knowledge which they had already known before their arrival in this classroom.

3. Lines 81 through 93 continue to reflect the pre-defined knowledge base of the process for learning in this classroom.

When the verbal and non-verbal exchanges among children were compared with those between the teacher and children, the following were agreed upon by Miss Avery and the researcher:

--- The level of thinking and frequency of participation in the former interaction reflected more on-going mutual understanding of the topic at hand as they had relevance to the life experiences of the children involved.

--- In the former interaction a higher level of learning was evidenced as both immigrant and second culture children successfully applied the new experience to fantasy in a more personal way, yet kept sight of the basic facts of colour, size, number, and tactile attributes.

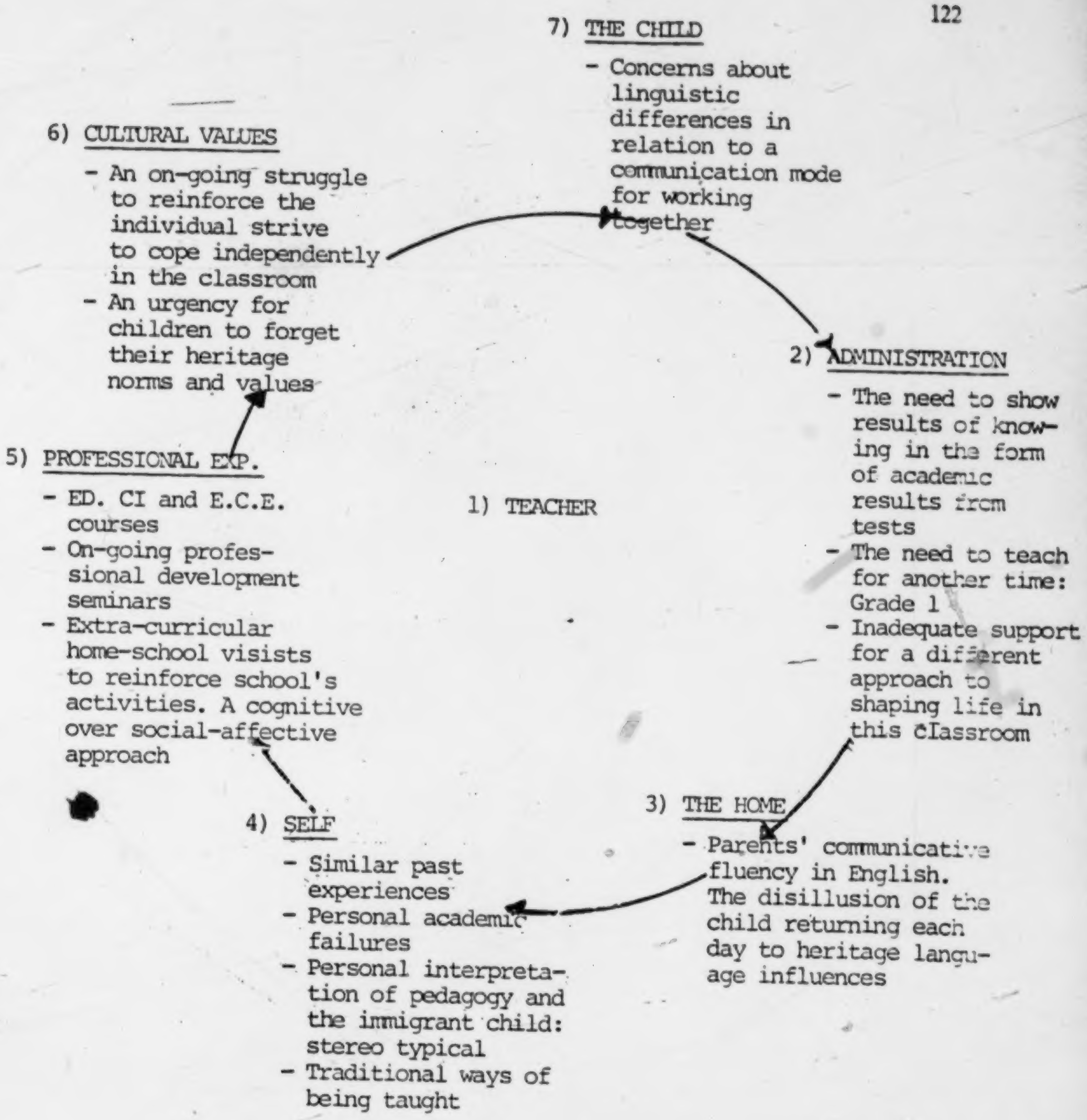
--- Interactions in the latter arrangement between teacher and children however, produced the stereotypical teacher-child-teacher model of questioning and answering classroom questions. This model reflected the typical structured behaviour which was expected of children throughout the system. That is, how a child thinks, what s/he thinks and when, is equated with having learned in the classroom environment.

The characteristics above represented the basis of teaching-learning and the general life of non-English-speaking-immigrant children and their teachers in the classroom. The analysis of data showed that from the beginning of the relationship between the teacher and the non-English-speaking-immigrant children, life in this classroom revolved primarily around the teacher and the perceptions she held of how it should be experienced. All other influences were incorporated into those perceptions to give shape to the process of teaching and learning. The following Figure (IV) represented Miss Avery's perceptions of the influences which created the life for non-English-speaking-immigrant children before she reflected on the daily videotaped experiences which made up that life.

After Miss Avery and researcher discussed what was revealed through videotaped data, the influences on the classroom life represented in Figure (IV) changed to some extent. This change however was primarily in those teaching-learning situations where the content of learning did not require testing for competence at the end of the school year. Such changes were therefore in experiences such as Story reading, large group student sharing exercises, and draft and art exercises. There was no such change in activities in mathematics, reading activities, writing and other activities such as completing work sheets. The changes nonetheless were represented as follows in Figure (V). .

It will be observed that where those changes occurred in the non-tested areas of the curriculum, life seemed to revolve around the children's needs. There was evidence of allowing more response time for the input from non-English-speaking-immigrant children; following these children's direction ~~in~~ which they took self-initiated activities and teacher's use of heritage culture peer language interpretation of verbal contributions to teacher questions.

The most significant evident aspect of the change was the decision to cease sending report cards home to the parents of children who were foreign to the school life in which their children were involved. Miss Chase concluded that in order to make other changes work on a long term basis she had to get parents into the classroom to watch.



1) TEACHER

2) ADMINISTRATION
- The need to show results of knowing in the form of academic results from tests
- The need to teach for another time: Grade 1
- Inadequate support for a different approach to shaping life in this classroom

3) THE HOME
- Parents' communicative fluency in English. The disillusion of the child returning each day to heritage language influences

4) SELF
- Similar past experiences
- Personal academic failures
- Personal interpretation of pedagogy and the immigrant child: stereo typical
- Traditional ways of being taught

5) PROFESSIONAL EXP.
- ED. CI and E.C.E. courses
- On-going professional development seminars
- Extra-curricular home-school visists to reinforce school's activities. A cognitive over social-affective approach

6) CULTURAL VALUES
- An on-going struggle to reinforce the individual strive to cope independently in the classroom
- An urgency for children to forget their heritage norms and values

7) THE CHILD
- Concerns about linguistic differences in relation to a communication mode for working together

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED LIFE FOR TEACHERS AND CHILDREN IN CLASSROOM A BEFORE REFLECTING ON VIDEOTAPED DATA

Figure 1v.

1) CHILD

2) THE HOME

- Parents' input into children's curriculum content via linguistic interpreters
- Parent-child partnership in field trips and heritage activities
- Replacement of report cards sent home with increased number of mandatory teacher-parent-child conferences

3) SELF: TEACHER

Personal learning style: daily reflections on process

- Multi-strategies to accommodate varying modes of communication and learning styles
- Use of Bi-trilingual children as liason in communication

4) SELF: CHILD

- The spontaneous activities initiated: responsibility for planning day's activities
- Non-verbal cues given equivalent in language structures

5) PARTNERSHIP: COMMUNITY CLASSROOM

- E.S.L. Co-ordinator and interpreters set up cultural themes in classroom. Children work in immigrant-native partnership on activities
- Field trips increased

6) ADMINISTRATION

- Maximum principal involvement in 1-5 above
- Justifying changes to E.S.L. officers etc.

7) CULTURAL: NORMS ETC.

- Constantly seeking children's alternative way of knowing what is offered anew. Through questions eg. "How do you do it in your country?" or
- Tell me more
- Constantly offering content as it is experienced transculturally: eg. How do Chinese greet each other?

FACTORS WHICH SEEMED TO INFLUENCE LIFE AFTER REFLECTIONS ON VIDEOTAPED DATA IN CLASSROOM A

Figure v.

CLASSROOM B:

Miss Belle experienced many conflicts of identification also. Her need to carve a new pedagogical understanding and accommodating the ethnocultural differences was almost denied as she selected to teach for her own career survival. She questioned the priorities of her principal in his commitment to helping non-English-speaking immigrant children avoid becoming the stereotyped minority learner in the education system. She pointed out that after all the assistance given by the coordinator of testing at the School Board with regard to determining the children's abilities and the programs which should follow to help them through the system successfully, there was no follow-through on the principal's part. Yet, she presumed, it was important for the "principal to look good by getting results from the children" (Teacher Interview; January, 1984). She presumed that the lack of consistency between education policy agencies and program implementers was lacking. This in turn, she presumed, forced teachers to "teach for survival" (Teacher Interview, January, 1984). This suggested that the non-English-speaking immigrant children who needed the help of the education system to succeed, either found their own means to succeed in the "usual" way the system had to be" (Teacher Interview, January, 1984) or experience failure. Lack of consistency among the agencies in agreeing on the priorities of the education system as these affect the non-English-speaking immigrant children, led to the E.S.L. programs functioning as if they were "on a different mission to help the child(ren)" (January, 1984). Inconsistencies among agencies of the education systems filtered inconsistencies within the school where the children's development of security should begin. Miss Belle was not prepared to validate the perceptions stated above if she were identified.

Meeting Miss Belle in the context of her classroom seemed to initiate a relationship which would require extreme researcher caution during data collection activities. After being escorted by the Principal to the location of the classroom, I introduced myself to a young teacher who was embarking on her first year of professional teaching. Miss Belle was among the year's Early Childhood Education graduates. After several interviews she secured employment in two separate inner-city schools as kindergarten teacher. In this classroom the larger percentage of non-English-speaking-immigrant children were of Chinese heritage.

In contrast to the open physical and symbolic organization of Classroom A, two aspects of the physical arrangements in this classroom seemed to set the tone for the quality of the interpersonal relationship which would develop between the teacher and these children. First, small group activity tables were permanently tucked away from use. In their places stood a very long and sturdy oblong table around which there was enough room to accommodate twenty-two small chairs. This marked the spot for on-going activities which were done in conformity with the teacher's directions and quite oblivious of the linguistic and other differences which the non-English-speaking-immigrant children brought to the classroom. Next, there was the small enclosed carpeted area where activities, other than the 3R's were engaged in. The controlling features of these two spaces almost set the learning climate of this classroom. This was a place which indicated in no uncertain manner, a restriction of children~~'s~~ movement. It also indicated a high degree of teacher control and expectations for maximum conformity to the norms and values set by this teacher. This was the framework within which inter-personal relationships and life would be shaped for teacher and non-English-speaking-immigrant children. The quality of that life determined the level of security, acceptance and self-esteem which these children would experience as part of becoming competent participants in that life.

Miss Belle did nothing to conceal the fact that she was "not an expert", in a manner which implied that the researcher was. This perception placed an additional strain on the researcher to exude an attitude of calm and understanding of this teacher's personal need for security in the ways in which she shaped life for these children. This was a place where the relationship with these children would be perceived throughout the school year from an "Us-Them", or more specifically, from an "I-Them"basis. The following example among many others in the original data showed that the nature of life in this classroom did very little to nurture the self-esteem and security which the non-English-speaking-immigrant children needed. The evidence showed that in this inflexible climate the frustration level was most high between teacher and children. There was no doubt that in this classroom teacher and children were there to play definite roles. In the case of the teacher her role was to teach, while the children were there to learn. The importance for these children to have their basic human needs for feeling secure, for feeling safe to use their inherited language and cultural differences to incorporate the second culture understandings and the need to feel accepted as total human beings were not the primary goal of this teacher's philosophy. Column A represents the verbal and non-verbal contributions of children. Column B represents the teacher's contributions.

I. Context:
Small Group Time: Sand; House Play, Colour
Table; Blocks; Minimum routine materials in these areas.

Column A	Column B	
CHILD	TEACHER	
	"Now, we're going to go into our	1
	our centres. You'll tell me which	2
	ones you want to go into. Okay.	3
	How many centres we have?"	4
	(Answers her own question.)	
	"There is the sand."	5
"I wanna go into		6

the sand."		
	"Okay, we'll just wait."	7
	"Put your hands up so that I can tell you when to go."	8 9
	"We'll take a turn. Put your hands up."	10
	"The listening centre is gonna be open today. I've got a story on there, okay?"	11 12
"I wanna do that."		
	"Wait, just a minute all right."	13
"I wanna ..."		
	"I'll help you out with that later. Just a minute. Listen!!!" (Tough intonation)	14 15
	"Am I asking you right now what you want or I'm telling you what you're gonna do?"	16 17
	"The storybook centre, sandbox will be open."	18
(Individual children rush off to begin activity in sand when teacher says...)		19 20
	"Not just yet. We have not finished the tour."	21
(Tour of an already familiar place.)		
	"Over here is the letter?" (Waits	22

	for response from children.)	
(Few children give choral response.)		
"D-e-e-e."		23
	"D-e-e-e." (Stops to demonstrate the task requirements when working at the "D"centre.)	24 25
	"And what's gonna happen, is that you're going to have some glue ...	26 27
Kevin: "Have some glue."		28
	with some yarn you can take some yarn."	29
Kevin: "Why?"		30
	"Just wait and see Kevin."	31
(All children quiet; looking on at teacher's demonstration of how to complete task-filling in the shape of letter D with yarn.)		
	"Any colour that you want. There's lots of yarn here. Now watch what happens. Now, you take a little bit of glue; a little bit of glue. Just like that. That's a lot.	32 33 34 35 36

	"Now, show me what a pinky finger is. Who --- who knows what a pinky finger is?"	37 38
"This." (Shows middle finger.)		
	(Teacher very roughly grabs the finger she expected to be shown and says ...)	39 40
	"This one."	41
	"Show me your pinky finger."	42
Kevin: "Like this."		43
	"Right."	44
	"Now, you're gonna dip it in there just a little bit of glue."	45
Kevin: "Why? Why?"		46
	"Just watch --- just watch Kevin, you'll see why."	47
	"Take the glue and all those colours and you dip it in and fill it up."	48
(A Chinese child who spoke some English) Bonnie: (attempts to -- assist teacher when teacher says)		49

"No --- just wait. My hands are the only ones which must be messed up right now. Okay?" 50 51

(Look of confusion on Bonnie's face)

"Now, is all the glue there?" 52

(Choral response)
"Yeah." 53

"Well, you might wanna come up closer." 54

Bonnie: (Again attempts to get into the doing of the task when she's told.)

"Just wait Bonnie. I'll show it to you. Wipe your finger off." 55

"Well, now you take some yarn, (fills in shape with coloured yarn) and you fill her up --- round." 56

(All remain occupied only with looking at teacher's way)

"So, rather than colouring it with crayon --- you're going to colour it with yarn." 57

"Am I finished?" 58

(Mixed choral responses)

"Ye-a-No-o-oh."		59
	"Because its not all coloured in yet --- is it?"	60
	"Now, I don't really think I want all pink so I'd take a different colour."	61
(Jason and Chipper engage in their own play with yarn closest to their reach)		
	"Now you can stick it in there."	62
	"Oh, it's starting to look pretty nice --- isn't it? So --- you go on -- and -- well I won't finish it."	63
	"So, this is what you could be doing today."	64
	"Colouring the letter D."	65
	"I've already said the shape box will be open -- today -- and -- the fish -- you can watch the fish."	66
	"So, either the listening centre, sand, storybook, or finish the letter."	67
Chipper: "I want to		68

play with sand."

"Just wait, I haven't asked anybody yet." 69

"Chipper, remember our rule." 70

"Those who have been staying real nice, they are the first ones to ask --- get asked, right." 71

Chipper: "Can I go?" 72

"Farley, where would you like to go today?" 73

Farley: "The sand." 74

"The sand. Okay, you just go stand over by the sand." 75

"Julia, where would you like to go?" 76

Julia: "The sand." 77

"Okay. Just go." 78

(Leo says) "The shash." (= the sand teacher says) 79

"Just wait, Leo." 80

"Mini, where would you like to be?" 81

Mini: "This." (The D table) 82

"This? Okay. Just sit down right here. You can get some glue and 83 get started."

"Bonnie?" 84

Bonnie: "The sand." 85

"Okay. We're gonna pull the sand away from the table so we're gonna allow four at the sand, today." 86

"Rainnia, where would you like to be?" 87

Rainnia: "There." (Points to the story centre.) 88

"The story centre. Okay, there you go." 89

"Jason, where would you like to be?" 90

Jason: (Points to the puzzles.)

"Okay, take them over to the rug." 91

(Meanwhile Leo and Kevin stand bewildered watching their peers settling into their selected areas and materials. They seem quietly upset and independently move off to the sand area) (Asked Kevin about this experience later. Responses at the end of observation notes.)

(But Teacher had been keeping an eye on them)

"Ah, Leo and Kevin, did I ask you --- where you want to be?" 92

(The trial and defense argument on Leo and Kevin's not waiting in the rug area; raising hands to indicate where each wanted to go.)

"Do you know why? Do you know why I won't let you go to the sand? Number one, there is no room; and number two I didn't see you over there in the carpet centre, so how could I ask you? How could I ask you if you were not there? So, maybe let's go over here, there's room." 93

Kevin: "Miss Belle. When will I go to the sand?" 94

"Let's go over here. When you're finished here." 95

"Yes, I'll be back." 96

(Teacher moves Kevin and Leo over to the listening centre.)

"Now, here's the book. Okay, sit down." 97

Kevin: "I'm listening to your story." 98

"Nice, that's fine Kevin." 99

(Neither children advance to books displayed on reading shelf and begin selecting books when teacher says and takes book away from one child and says)

"Put those away, we'll have to look at those afterwards Kevin. Okay." 100

Context: At the Listening Centre. Leo, Kevin and two others, each with ear phones on. All looking at printed text which is on the tape.

Leo: "I'll hold it." 101

(Teacher goes around.)

Kevin: "I'll hold it, okay." 102

(They are measuring, sifting, weighing).

"Hey, don't do that." 103

Leo: "I'll hold it." 104

Kevin: "Hey, that's so funny."

Leo: "What's so funny?" 105

(The listening activity
erupts into distracting
noise. Books and ear-
phones used for throwing.) 106

Leo: "I need pink." 107

"What colour is pink?" 108

Ava: "I don't know." 109

(Teacher provides yarn.)

"Put your name on your work." 110

(To Kevin who was about to
complete yarn letter D when
teacher says ...)

"Put that away now." 111

Kevin: "Well, I'm
not finished." 112

"Okay. Well, you were too busy
Kevin. You can come back to it.
But you have to go to the snack
table now. Take a chair over there 113

and sit down."

(Kevin ignores instruction in an effort to complete his letter D when teacher says ...)

"Kevin." (Raised intonation.) 114

Kevin butts in: 115

"Miss Belle."

"Yeh." 116

"How is this thing
doing so?" 117

"Oh, you'll finish. You just haven't finished it --- that's all." 118

(Teacher goes off to get snack.
returns and says ...)

"Today, our snack is --- raisins!!" 119

"Raisins?" 120

"Little boxes of raisins." 121

(Serves some to anxious children.)

"Uhm -- good." 122

"After recess, we're going to have a film. After we go outside and play." 123

(Paulo does not wish to go out to the playground -- but he's reminded by teacher.)

"Paulo --- the rule says, you must go out on the playground, right." 124

"That's what the rule says." 125

"Miss Belle. Miss Belle. When're we going to recess?" 126

"Perhaps right now. Close up your raisin boxes; put on your coats; then you can take your raisins outside with you, okay? 127

"Okay, eat your raisins outside. Shut the lid on. We don't want any spills." 128

"Get your coats." 129

(Compliments child who gets dressed independently.)

"If we all go together as a group, then we won't have any problems." 130

(Kevin wants to get to playground independently but teacher says ...)

"Kevin, you have to follow Jason and Chipper." 131

(Kevin pouts but co-operates.)

3. Context: Roll Call

Children seated on
carpeted area.
Teacher and register.

(Children are expected to
listen, recognize their
names, then say "I'm here"
for teacher.)

"Rainnia."

"I'm here."

When the above verbal and non-verbal behaviours were analyzed to determine what in these impeded or facilitated the fulfillment of the children's basic needs on which academic understandings could be built, the following stereotype picture emerged as a continual characteristic of this classroom.

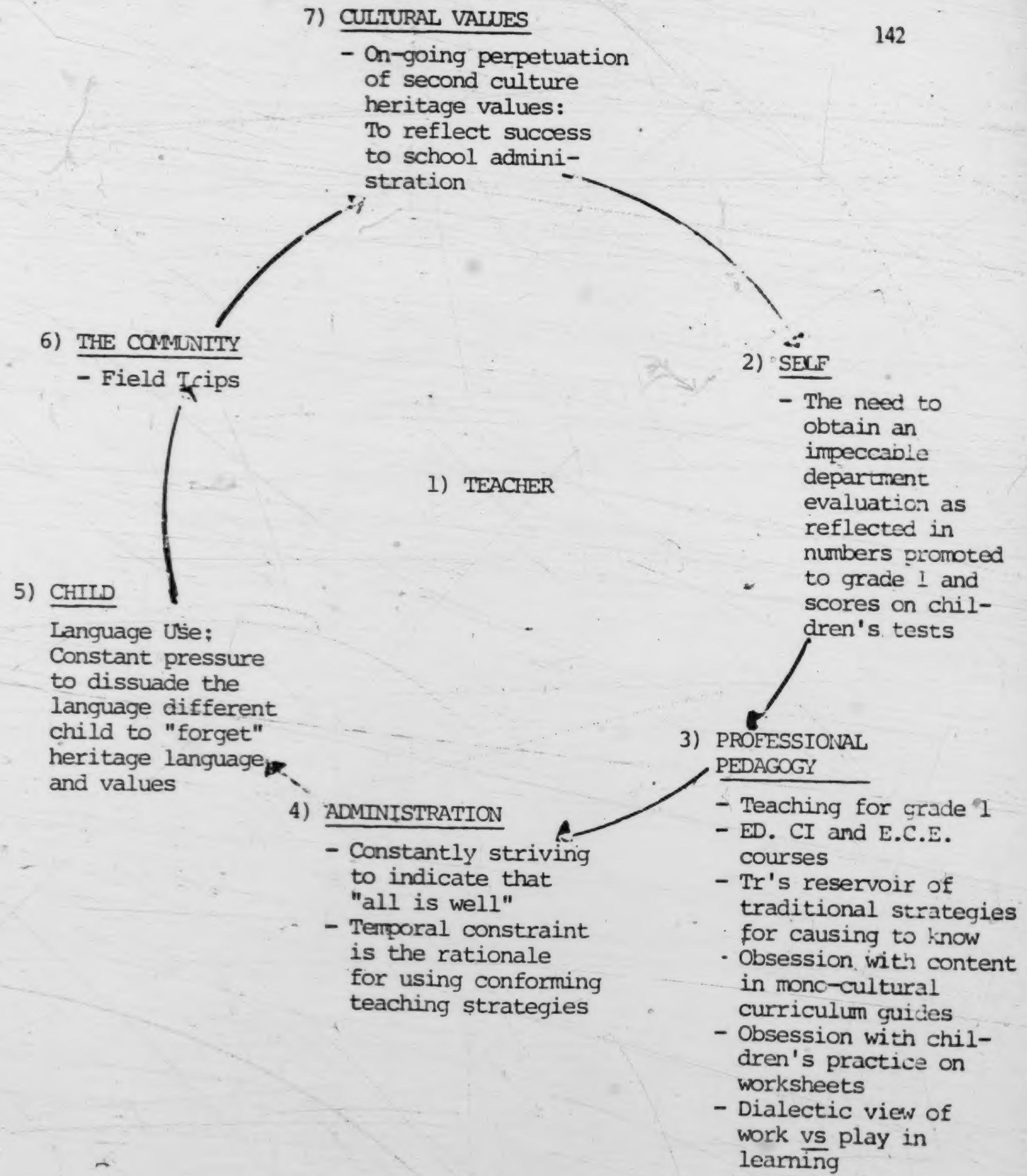
1. Lines 1 through 93. Here, the theme seemed to be--- "choices, no choices." For example, Miss Belle spent much time assuring children that they would have their choices of activities and centres. However, what seemed to be a freedom to choose on the basis of interests and/or need, was really no choice. Only those children who demonstrated knowledge of the conventions of classroom rules which defined the acceptable sequence for making choices had their choices endorsed by the teacher. For example, (line 7) children who were "being nice and quiet", got their choices. The "raising (of) one's hand" (line 8) got some children their choices. Those who "Put (their) hand(s) up so that (she) could tell them to go", (lines 13-21) got their choices. Those who showed an understanding of abiding by the conventional classroom rules, (lines 22-49) ("Now --- just wait. My hands are the only ones which must be messed up right now. Okay.") got their choices. Those who demonstrated an understanding of the appropriate teacher-expected interactive relationship (lines 50-51) ("Just wait. I haven't asked anybody yet." "Remember our rule") got

their choices.

After all of the conventional classroom behaviours were verified, then the children's actual movement to the centres began. This single experience spanned a forty-five minute period of learning time. As children worked at the centres, there seemed to be a lull of enthusiasm from children who had not mastered those conventional rules. Those who did not get their choices, since they did not know how to match the teacher's expectations with their appropriate non-verbal responses were primarily the non-English-speaking-immigrant children. In this teaching-learning context, the teacher's need to be in control was pursued rather than the children's needs to explore the understandings of their own environment through the material resources provided. The process for completing what the teacher seemed to think the non-English-speaking-immigrant children should know became confused quite often by questions such as, "What colour is pink?"" This question was in response to a request made by Kevin, a Chinese child who yelled --- "Ah need pink". The perception of who should be doing what in which time slot was continuously reinforced.

Such is the context in which children from different cultural, linguistic and social backgrounds have to come to know about their new world. Miss Belle justified this way of life as she explained her beliefs and traditional perceptions which influenced the way the nature of learning had to be in her classroom. Figure (Vl) reflects those influences based on her beliefs and personal traditional experiences of how she was taught in this education system.

Often Miss Belle reflected on her videotaped aspects of life in her classroom. She discussed the observations she made of how the teaching-learning process was for the non-English-speaking-immigrant children. She acknowledged that things may be done differently, but that at that point of her career she could not think of modifying her way of coping with the multi-cultural dimension which she did not fully understand. Miss Belle acknowledged that what the process should be and what it had to be in order to cope with the expectations of her administrators left her no choice than that of deciding to use her traditional strategies of shaping life for the non-English-speaking-immigrant children. As such the nature of teaching in Miss Belle's classroom did not change even after recognizing that she overtly legitimized the knowledge of the classroom and made illegitimate the alternative experiences and styles of learning which the non-English-speaking immigrant children communicated non-verbally.



1) TEACHER

2) SELF
- The need to obtain an impeccable department evaluation as reflected in numbers promoted to grade 1 and scores on children's tests

3) PROFESSIONAL PEDAGOGY
- Teaching for grade 1
- ED. CI and E.C.E. courses
- Tr's reservoir of traditional strategies for causing to know
- Obsession with content in mono-cultural curriculum guides
- Obsession with children's practice on worksheets
- Dialectic view of work vs play in learning

4) ADMINISTRATION
- Constantly striving to indicate that "all is well"
- Temporal constraint is the rationale for using conforming teaching strategies

5) CHILD

Language Use; Constant pressure to dissuade the language different child to "forget" heritage language and values

6) THE COMMUNITY
- Field Trips

7) CULTURAL VALUES
- On-going perpetuation of second culture heritage values: To reflect success to school administration

MISS BELLE: PERCEPTIONS OF THE FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED THE SHAPING OF LIFE IN CLASSROOM B

Figure VI.

CLASSROOM C

As one enters Classroom C one is overwhelmed by the array of pre-literacy symbols and physical equipment which abound on every inch of the wall space. The colour scheme of symbols was reflective of a conglomeration of the colours of the rainbow. These symbols dazzled the eye as their laminated surfaces created an eye-watering experience, even for the researcher.

It took a while for my physical ability to process the visual symbolic information, to categorize their usefulness to children, especially to the children in this study. There was no doubt that the lamination was to protect the obviously teacher-made materials against the wear and tear of children's use, but I wondered about the height at which materials were displayed, so high over children's eye levels. Manipulative materials were numerous and arranged in carefully labeled centres. The centres available to the children were,

--- Carpentry
--- Art
--- House corner
--- Blocks
--- Water
--- Clay Table
--- Mathematics
--- Puzzle
--- Science
--- The Library
--- The Cutting Centre

Without any information from Miss Chase, there was a flavour of budding independence among all children. It was quite evident that the basic rules of social interaction had been established. This did not seem to occur through the long hours of lecturing and 'choice-no-choice' demonstrations as in Classroom B. There seemed to be total modelling of the acceptable conventional classroom rules by Miss Chase, who did not feel that she would be any less a leader by saying "excuse me please"; "I'm sorry"; "can you please help me"; "I would like to wait my turn if others can"; "Can I have that when you're through with that?"

On arrival at their classroom, the immigrant children had grown accustomed to putting away their personal effects. They entered the classroom and greeted Miss Chase by holding on to her clothing, tugging them and simultaneously showing her something which they had brought from home. Miss Chase responded with very friendly and warm verbal suggestions about what each may have wanted to express, in their 'not-yet-perfect' Standard English structures. This attitude set the air for security, acceptance and motivation for children to use the environment to match each one's interests until teacher activities officially began.

Each child then moved to an area of choice and lost himself/herself in pursuing an interest. Miss Chase always seemed to have the time to "peek" at what the children were doing. It is from this kind of play that she identified the learning levels of each of the non-English-speaking-immigrant children even in the absence of their ability to communicate their thinking through Standard English. Miss Chase moved over occassionally and again translated children's actions into Standard English structures limited to "Great", "Fantastic", "How neat". After a closer observation however, Miss Chase appeared to miss the opportunity to intervene and extend the level of these children's language and thinking in their spontaneous activities. Also, inspite of the seemingly high level of autonomy given to the children in this classroom, each teacher-initiated large group activity seemed very little different to that of transmitting predefined ideas within neat time frames. The topics and concepts discussed always seemed to end in a process where children who volunteered to make contributions from their personal experiences with those ideas and concepts were passed over. The teacher's content and the pre-determined sequence seemed to take precedence over allowing children to contribute to their learning by having their experiences shared by the teacher. Instead only the teacher's perceptions of the ideas related to classroom concepts were shared, even when children had those experiences from the second culture or immigrant culture. An example from the many beautiful second culture experiences which became mere activities of telling ideas which were later questioned for children's recall and/or regurgitation follows.

The Context:

Children sitting in large circle to talk about making Maple Sugar from Maple Sap. Teaching Resources:

Studies of farmers in the process collecting and preparing Maple sugar. The Procedure

COLUMN A	COLUMN B	
Child	Teacher	
	Well, today we're going to speak of something special	1
	Something your parents would know about if they are Canadians. Especially	2
(Teacher originates from Quebec.)	if you're from Quebec. It's sweet.	
	Now let's just look at the film (slides).	3
	"The Gathering Of Maple Leaf Syrup"	
	Now what do you see in that picture?	4

Child 1 : Trees.		
	Don-- what do you see in that picture? (Immigrant child)	5
Trees (Don repeats)		6
	Trees?	7
	What do you see	8
	Ana	9
Trees.		10
(The child who always knows the answer which teacher wants)	What else Marlon?	11
There are pots hanging from the trunk of those trees.		
	What are they? (This will clear the way for teacher to give the exact name of the utensils which hang on tree trunks without reinforcing Marlon's answer as an alternative label.)	12
Marlon: Pots for the sap 13	Do you know what they are?	13
	They're buckets.	14
	They're metal buckets hanging from the trees.	15
	Okay, we're going to see	16

	more about those buckets.	
	O-h-h! At the very end (Order of slides is mixed up).	17
	Do you know what those people are doing there?	18
What?		
	They're putting Maple Syrup on something they're eating.	19
(Teacher stops asking children to tell about the picture. She takes over and focuses on exactly what and where the information should lead.)	They've got snow on a wooden board.	20
	And then they cook the syrup until it gets hot.	21
	And then they pour the hot syrup on the snow so that it would get hard like candy.	22
	A whole set of Maple trees.	28
	See all those trees?	29
(Choral response.) Yeh!		30
	You can't tell that they're	31

	Maple trees because you can't see the leaves, can you?	
	You'ld have to wait until summer to see the leaves.	32
*Maple leaf trees are --(Child begins to tell of experience about Maple trees, but teacher moves on rapidly.)		
	There's one of the leaves.	33
	That's one on the ground.	34
*That one must be lost its juice.		
	Look at the amount of water on the ground.	35
	That must tell you something.	36
	It must be getting warmer there.	37
	Oh --- there's the man who goes up to the tree.	38
	He takes a drill.	39
*That's a hand drill _not electric.		40
	A Hand Drill?	41

	(Teacher stops --- goes to Carpenter centre and shows a hand drill to children.)	
	Here's a hand drill.	42
My Daddy has a hand drill.		43
	Umhmm.	44
	Now, you take the hand-drill.	45
	You put that in the tree.	46
	And you turn it like this. (Demonstrates on table.)	47
	What do you think that makes in the tree?	48
Power.		49
Holes.		50
	A hole.	51
*I know what goes in that hole. (Child whose dad gathers sap.)		52
	Do you? What?	53
A little hook.		54
	A little hook.	55

	And a little spout.	56
	Fine.	57
	There! Look what's coming out of the tree.	58
	White stuff.	59
•What is that white stuff?		60
	A - a - h. That's the juice coming out.	61
	The sap	62
	There! he's going to put in. He made a hole with the drill.	63
	Now he's going to put that little metal thing in.	64
	It's also got a little spout on it. Just like a teapot; only it's metal.	65
	And out of there is gonna come the juice of the tree.	66
That what you make Maple syrup with.		68

	Oh --- you think so?	69
Yes. That's it.		70
	That juice from the tree?	71
	Have you ever touched some trees and they leave sticky stuff.	72
(Choral) Yeh --- No.		73
	Oh, there are some trees like that. The Maple is one of them.	74
Yeh --- but if when you use gloves that won't happen. (This he told to me when I tried to find out what he wanted to say)		75
	And there he is.	76
	He's coming in with his hammer.	77
	O - o - o - h! There are buckets there.	78
	Somebody must have come along, after they drove the hole and put the --- in.	79

And there come buckets 80
on every one of those spouts.

Boy, there's a lot. 81
One --- two --- three ---
four --- five --- to fifteen.

I can see fifteen right 82
there.

There's lots more. And there 83
are two hundred buckets out
there.

And you see the lid on the 84
buckets?

Can you see this bucket with 85
a lid?

(Choral) Yeh.

That's to prevent all the 86
leaves and stuff that fall
--- the things that are wet
and stuff.

So only the juice would 87
go with the buckets.

Juice. from the trees. 88

	Like water. The first little bit that comes out it's white.	89
	And then they put a capsule in there to clean it.	90
Children desperately attempting to add their observations and meanings --- but teacher moves on.	And then --- out comes --- just like water --- as clear as ever.	91
	But, wait till you cook it.	92
	It turns into something very special.	93
	Oh -- -- Oh.	94
	There's the lid on the bucket.	95
	So that no -- o -- o sticks can get into the buckets.	96
	Oh --- what's she doing?	97
(Attempts to answer) *Opening the bucket to check --	(Teacher moves on.)	

Do you think she'd like to taste it? 98

Yeh.

I think she's just checking to see if it's full. 99

(This is exactly what the child was offering.)

She has to empty those every day. 100

Oh --- here he comes. 101

He's coming with the bucket. 102

A big bucket to empty the little ones in. 103

Oh my! He takes the bucket off the trees. 104

You see this one right here? 105

He takes the bucket off the tree. 106

You know sometimes you could have more than one bucket 107 on a tree?

(Child who knows attempts to tell, but teacher moves on.)

Some trees have so much juice to give. 108

(That's what child thought.)

And then he takes it and he pours it in this big barrel on a sled. 109

That's not a sled.

(Tr. whispers --) Well it used to be a sled. 110

What is it now? 111

They use tractors now. 112

But what is he doing with that big board there. 113

That's the barrell right there. This is a big, big barrell and he's putting all the juice from the smaller buckets in that big, big barrell. 114

(Child is trying desperately to get teacher's attention --- but she moves on.)

	Where do you think he's going to take it?	115
To the farm.		117
	*To the farm but he could take it home.	118
He could be taking it to the factory.		
	(Not acknowledged.)	
	Oh --- there he goes.	119
	You see it's pulled by a tractor, this one.	120
	There it is. That's the	121
	Maple Syrup Shack.	122
	*(Asks and answers questions herself)	
	Can you see something coming out like smoke.	123
Yes.		124
	No. I think it's steam.	
	There's the Sugar Shack.	125
	Isn't it pretty?	126
	(Teacher exclaims --- Oh. I'm	

	home sick. Whose interests does this activity meet?)	
	Nowadays they use pipes in the trees.	127
	They don't ever use buckets.	128
	There we are.	129
* It looks like water.		130
	* Maybe it's water. No it isn't. It's the sap. Maple sap.	131
	* (Do you know Merv, my husband has a Sugar Shack, and every Spring, everybody takes a holiday and everybody goes out to the Sugar Shack. But I'm missing it this year.)	132
	Now, comes the cooking.	133
	There they are.	134
	Pouring it in the great big pot.	135
	And now it's going to turn into beautiful syrup in	136

a bottle in a minute.

There's a big fire and 137
they're gonna cook it and
cook it, and cook it.

It's made from sap. 138

Yes. They're cooking 139
the sap.

They've got all those big 140
pots over the fire.

That's a good old fashioned 141
way.

This is another way. 142
If you build a fire 143
under here.
If you put a big square 144
pot on top.

Then you have to boil it. 145
and boil it, and boil it
and boil it, and
boil it.

So that's how you have 146
all that steam coming out.

And once you keep boiling 147
that sap it starts to
become yellow.

It's not white anymore. 148

The syrup is almost brown 149
now.

So that's how we do it. 150
We have to keep cooking
it.

Oh there's the lady 151
going out to get some
more wood for the fire.

Good for her. 152

There she is sticking the 153
wood in the fire.

The kind of stove for making 154
Maple syrup is a wood
stove.

• I don't know why. 155

Umhmm --- you can 156

	then put your maple syrup on your pancakes.	
	Now!	157
	What kind of trees do we get Maple Syrup from?	158
Maple Trees.		159
	Cal?	160
	Is that right Eaton?	161
Yes.		162
	Right.	163
	They don't have any leaves yet.	164
	But in the Summer they will.	165
	Do we have a lot of Maple trees in Alberta?	166
(Choral) No - - -h!		167
* (Child whose dad makes Maple Sugar replies): We have a lot in our yard.		168
	No. There aren't any in Alberta.	169
I'm tired.		170

Are you tired? 171

This picture here says. When The Weather Gets Warm, The Maple Sap Begins To Run. 172

And that's about right now in Quebec. 173

They put the buckets on and the juice comes out. 174

But before this could happen we have to -*-? 175

* (Filling in the blanks with facts)

(Choral Response)

Drill a hole. 176

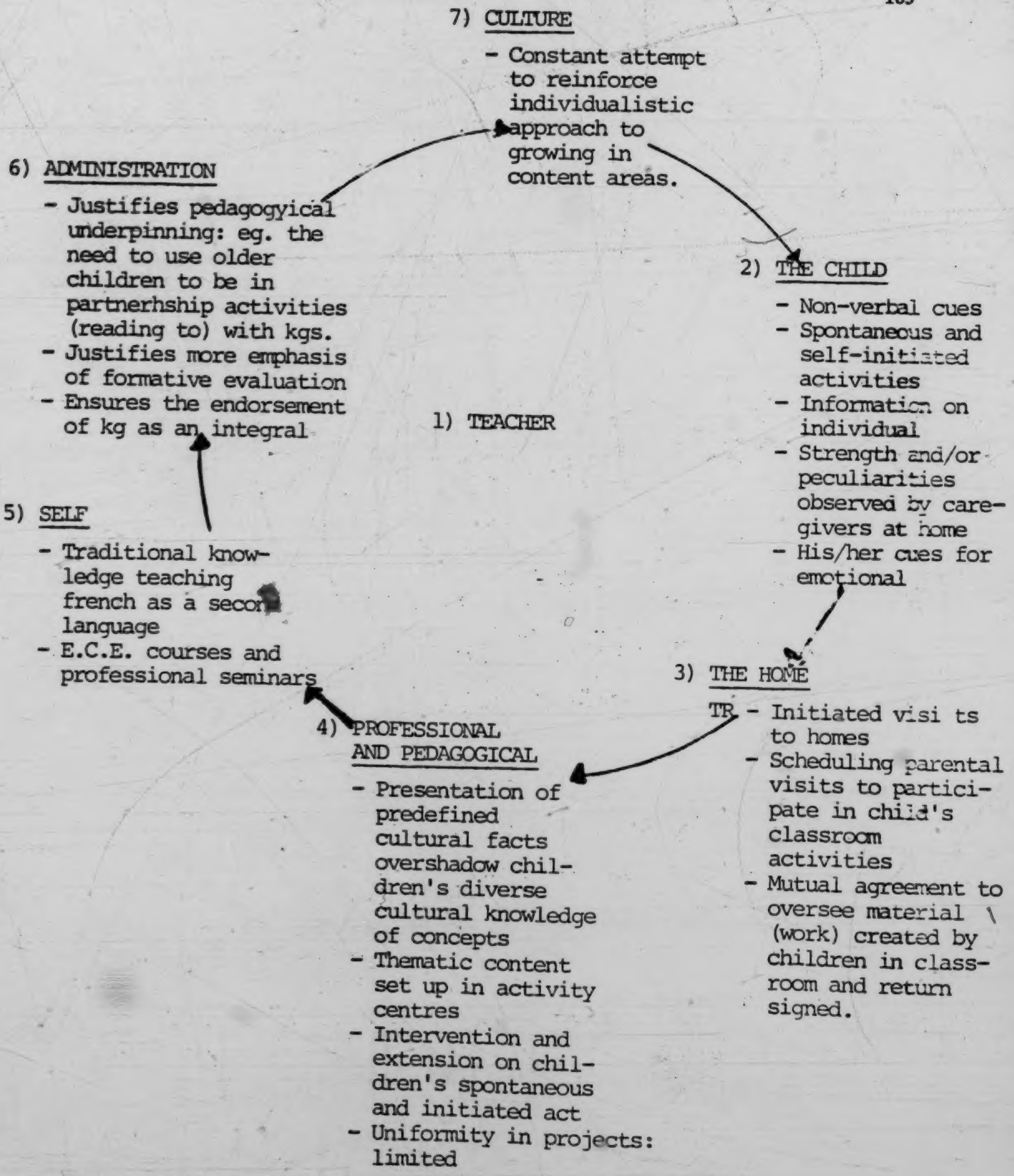
We have to drill a hole in the tree. 177

Teacher does the reviewing of facts by herself.

Then we put the chalemot to get the sap. After you put the hole in the tree. 178

Then you hang the bucket on. 179

Once again the life shaped for children through the teaching-learning process was primarily geared towards an academic performance at the end of the school year. Before Miss Chase reflected on the videotaped aspects of classroom life which she shaped for non-English-speaking-immigrant children and second culture children alike, she reflected that the following factors in Figure (V11) influenced how she shaped that life. Once again teaching as usual represented the way the classroom had to be, as against what it ought to be especially for non-English-speaking-immigrant children, one in which more attention needed to be paid to their cultural clues for understanding the content and ideas which counted as knowledge. After reflecting on the videotaped aspects of the life created in her classroom Miss Chase's interactive behaviours with the non-English-speaking-immigrant children reflected change as in the following Figure (V111).



1) TEACHER

2) THE CHILD
- Non-verbal cues
- Spontaneous and self-initiated activities
- Information on individual
- Strength and/or peculiarities observed by care-givers at home
- His/her cues for emotional

3) THE HOME

TR
- Initiated visits to homes
- Scheduling parental visits to participate in child's classroom activities
- Mutual agreement to oversee material (work) created by children in class-room and return signed.

4) PROFESSIONAL AND PEDAGOGICAL
- Presentation of predefined cultural facts overshadow children's diverse cultural knowledge of concepts
- Thematic content set up in activity centres
- Intervention and extension on children's spontaneous and initiated act
- Uniformity in projects: limited

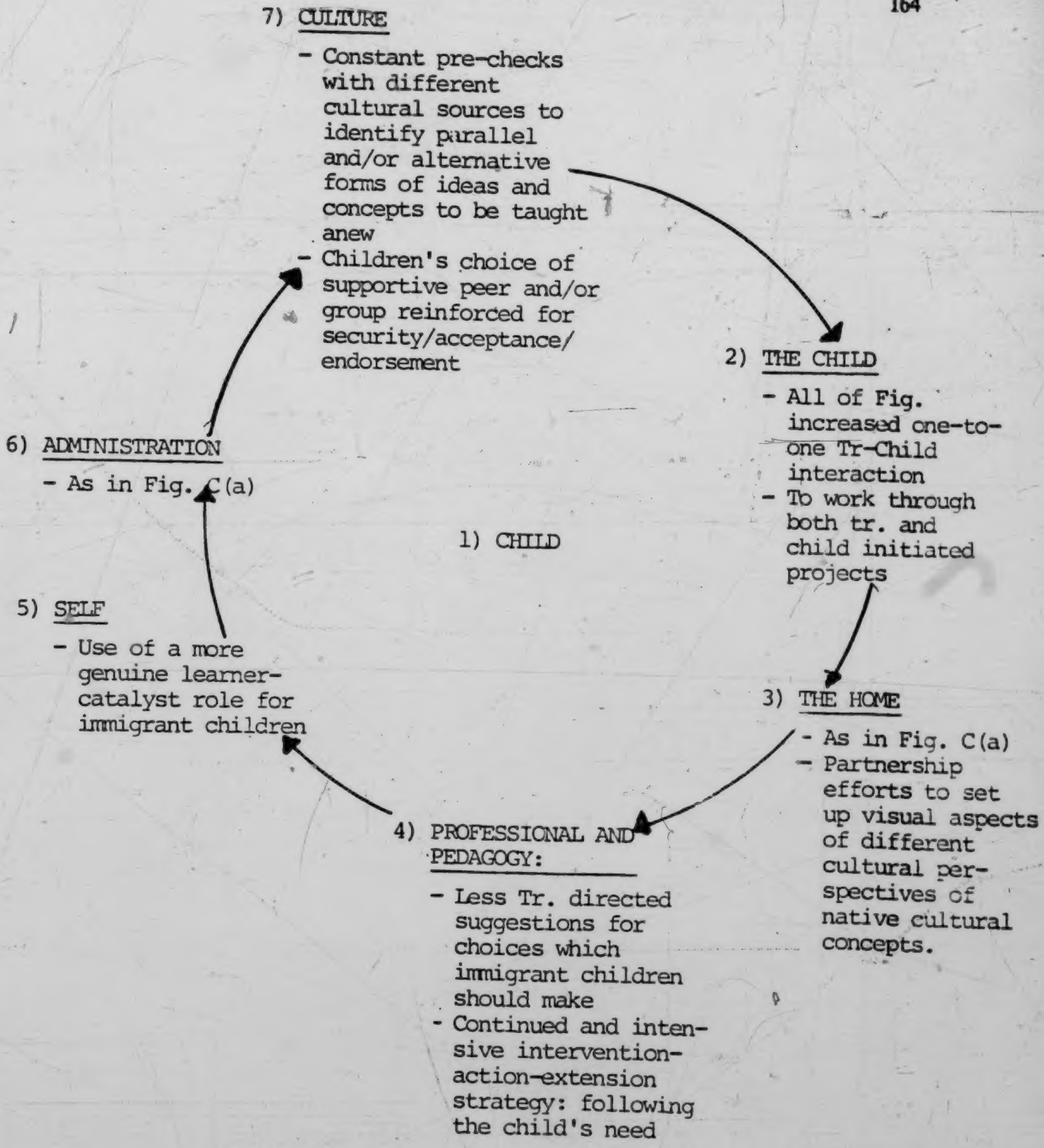
5) SELF
- Traditional knowledge teaching french as a second language
- E.C.E. courses and professional seminars

6) ADMINISTRATION
- Justifies pedagogyical underpinning: eg. the need to use older children to be in partnerhship activities (reading to) with kgs.
- Justifies more emphasis of formative evaluation
- Ensures the endorsement of kg as an integral

7) CULTURE
- Constant attempt to reinforce individualistic approach to growing in content areas.

MISS CHASE: FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED THE SHAPING OF LIFE IN CLASSROOM C BEFORE REFLECTING ON VIDEO TAPES

Figure v11.



7) CULTURE

- Constant pre-checks with different cultural sources to identify parallel and/or alternative forms of ideas and concepts to be taught anew
- Children's choice of supportive peer and/or group reinforced for security/acceptance/ endorsement

2) THE CHILD

- All of Fig. increased one-to-one Tr-Child interaction
- To work through both tr. and child initiated projects

3) THE HOME

- As in Fig. C(a)
- Partnership efforts to set up visual aspects of different cultural perspectives of native cultural concepts.

4) PROFESSIONAL AND PEDAGOGY:

- Less Tr. directed suggestions for choices which immigrant children should make
- Continued and intensive intervention-action-extension strategy: following the child's need

5) SELF

- Use of a more genuine learner-catalyst role for immigrant children

6) ADMINISTRATION

- As in Fig. C(a)

1) CHILD

MISS CHASE: FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED LIFE IN CLASSROOM C AFTER REFLECTING ON VIDEOTAPED ASPECTS OF TEACHING

Figure v111.

The foregoing pages indicated that the linguistic and cultural differences per se of the non-English-speaking-immigrant children were not the primary causes for the difficulties which they experienced in the respective learning programs teachers shaped for them. Instead, the traditional perception of what counted as legitimate knowledge (the three R's), the personal effects of the pedagogical practices which teachers themselves experienced from their teachers, and the degree to which success was experienced from those practices, unconsciously controlled the manner in which the investigated processes really were shaped. When the symbolic representation of literacy (picture cards, concept area centres) was stripped away from what lay below nothing but traditional teacher attitudes and expectations of different children being moulded into a unifying method, or mould for reproducing measurable basic subject area facts remained. These were synonymous with what defined a competent student in the second culture programs.

C. Summary

The data presented showed that as a result of the structure of life in the multi-cultural classroom, the non-English-speaking children are constantly caught between their old and the new reality of what it means to be a learner. Teachers' verbal and non-verbal modes of shaping the life for these children are based on very selective perceptions of what was best for their own career survival. As a result they demonstrate an attitude of conformity to the status quo and resort to justifying such attitudes in the dialectic of what that life should be against what it had to be for children and teachers. Those non-English-speaking immigrant children who demonstrated knowledge of the classroom conventions were candidates for a less frustrating day-to-day experience. As a result teaching and learning in the multi-cultural context reflected what Freire (1985) calls, "the bureaucratization of the mind". In this situation, activities and teaching strategies cease to encourage the pursuit of knowledge for personal meaning-making of the classroom world. The teachers demonstrated an awareness of that intersubjective relationship only so far as the physical presence of these children are in the space and time teachers share in these classrooms. A high degree of intersubjectivity would have demonstrated itself in the teachers on-going efforts to facilitate learning through first becoming learners of how these children went about making meaning of classroom material resources and time. Instead the experience of learning was shaped only through the preferred and traditional mode of information sharing: that is teacher-talk in Standard English with which these children felt dis-empowered to manifest their potential to incorporate new ideas.

VI. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. Introduction

Analysis of the data revealed that much more negative learning which may not have been intended by teachers was nevertheless realized from the verbal and non-verbal behaviours and traditional attitudes of the teachers. Prior to reflecting on their video-taped data three major factors were perceived as presenting difficulties for non-English-speaking immigrant children in experiencing a less frustrating second-culture classroom life. These were:

2. the children's different language system slowed them down or seemed to impede their ability to comprehend what teachers hoped to share about classroom knowledge;
3. the children's seeming lack of comparable concepts which match those that were prescribed in the second-culture kindergarten programs;
4. the children's seeming lack of readiness for incorporating the concepts of perceived, legitimate second-culture concepts.

The Matrix

Katz (1977) proposed an eight component matrix which she contributes is useful to observe, document and discuss the quality of teaching-learning education experiences in the pre-school. Each component is described in the following.

A. Clients:

This component identifies who are served by the specific program. Here, ethnicity, socio-economic status, age and number of clients are documented.

B. Teachers:

Identifying the culture and ethnicity of the teachers. Also, this identifies their interactive patterns with clients of the program and the basic assumptions and justifications for those patterns.

C. The Program:

Identifying the content of activities formulated and offered by teachers to clients.

The relevance, appropriateness, levels of difficulties and intrinsic motivation (or external motivation).

D. The Philosophy:

The beliefs, values and influences which teachers use to shape A, B and C; the consistencies or inconsistencies among A, B, C and D.

E. Parents:

Identifying their involvement in the program; their aspirations for their children; their perceptions of the effects of education on their children.

Identifying the length of day and its relationship to children's natural development.

F. The Administration:

The pedagogical aspects of all levels of administrators in relation to the other components.

G. The Length Of the Program:

The number of hours teachers and clients interact.

H. The Physical Plant:

Space, facilities.

Varying the use of the Research Instrument.

Characteristics	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
A Clients	A	AxB						
B Teachers & Assistants	BxA	B	BxC					
C Program Organization		CxB	C					
D Philosophical Orientation & History		DxB		D		DxF		
E Parent Power		ExB			E			
F Administrative Factors & Sponsorship		FxB				F		
G Length of Program		GxB					G	
H Physical Plant & Climate		HxB						H

a) Each square A, B, C etc. could be used independently.

b) Horizontally: for example, how does A depend on and affect BxA, or CxB etc.

c) Or vertically: for example, how is A interdependent with and affects BxB, BxC etc.

Figures (XII, A, B, C) in Appendix D represent the factors which independently and interdependently influence learning in each of the three investigated environments which reflected the multiethnic representation in Classrooms A, B and C. The matrix also represents influencing factors, prior (P) to the activity when teachers reflected on their videotaped teaching, as well as after reflecting (R). Where reflection on the videotapes indicated no demonstrable change in the teacher's use of existing factors to shape a more relevant learning process for the children, there is no 'R' to represent change after such reflection.

B. The Multi-Ethnic Representation in Classrooms A, B and C

The multi-ethnic representation in each classroom, the location of the school, and human multi-cultural education resources available are represented in the following: Figure (IX).

The Multi-ethnic Representation in Classrooms A, B and C.

School	Location	Resources Available To Teacher	% Multi-ethnic Enrollment	% Multi-ethnic Staff
A	Inner City	E.S.L. Co-ordinator; Interpreters; E.S.L. Teachers	92% Vietnamese; Chinese; Spanish; West Indians	8%
B	Inner City	As in School A	90% Vietnamese; Chinese; Spanish; Native Indians	6%
C	Suburban	E.S.L. Teacher	8% Polish; Chinese	1%

Figure ix.

C. An Overview of the General Educational Structure within which classroom functions

An overview of the general structure within which each classroom functioned reflected that the resources which non-English-speaking immigrant children brought to the status quo of the classroom were treated as "problems". According to the principals and teachers, the problems which had to be resolved before "learning" actually took place were as follows:

1. Language difference problems: the language(s) which the children spoke had to be unlearned. The children's acquisiton of the language of instruction (English) was perceived as crucial in order for teachers to begin a process of understanding whether children were learning the second-culture concepts.
2. Children's cultural disadvantage problems: verbalized concerns indicated that the children had a problem to be remedied. They needed to understand (through the teachers' language which was foreign to them) how "things were done" in the second-culture classroom. These concerns were verbalized in a manner which indicated that learning the second-culture ways of how "things were done" was separate and distinct from learning the language of the concepts related to such understanding.
3. Children's lack of pre-requisites for understanding school concepts in the second culture: the identification of this factor was primarily based on the fact that the teachers could not transcend the initial language barrier on the children's arrival in order to determine what they knew, relative to the prescribed second-culture concepts.

D. Discussion of the Teaching-Learning Processes in Classrooms A, B and C: Findings

The Clients: The non-English-speaking children.

The most significant belief which arose out of the data was, that the success or failure of non-English-speaking immigrant children in a regular mono-lingual school program was closely tied to the extent to which they demonstrated that their language was different, or similar to the language of instruction. Teachers believed that an initiative on the part of these children to unlearn their different language systems, and to acquire and use Standard English made some of their professional responsibilities more simple. For example, when these children demonstrated the use of Standard English to communicate what they knew in relation to classroom concepts, teachers felt more able to categorize them as competent (or poor) learners. As such, the use of a common language by both teachers and children implied that children either had the potential to learn with great difficulty or ease, or not to learn, successfully. Using a common language thereby suggested that life would be much easier for non-English-speaking immigrant children and their teachers when there was unity in the mode of communicating with each other. These beliefs represented a traditional view of the acquisition of a language as a tool for learning. Ashworth (1984) warned that such traditional views only facilitate the illusion that mutual understanding which is necessary for successful teaching and learning can be achieved when everyone speaks the same language. These beliefs also implied that non-English-speaking immigrant children could perhaps learn the second language (the language of instruction) separately from the rest of the second culture. Teachers' verbal urging children to hasten the process of acquisition of the classroom language took among other forms, the following requests:

> "Annabelle --- speak English, please" (Miss Avery);
> "*Try to say what you want to say in English —, David, then* I'll know what you want" (Miss Belle);
> "What does Quan want to tell me Annabelle --- she's not saying what she wants so that I could understand her." (Miss Chase)

When these requests were made in face-to-face interaction children who were involved in the contexts seemed to lose the zeal and interest which seemed to light up their eyes as they broke out in a mixture of Vietnamese and English to get their teachers' attention. These requests in each halted that enthusiasm and seemed to create an immediate 'case-on-trial' situation for each child. That is, each child seemed to cower in the teacher's presence, as s/he pondered "how to say what was meant" in English only. In each, the teacher waited, towering over the child, and gazing intently in the fearful face. In most cases, time helped to save these children any further seeming embarrassment, as the teacher moved on to other activities in the classroom.

The preference which teachers demonstrated for children to seek and receive help through a specific manner and mode for getting acceptable responses served to contradict all the factors for successful adaptation to the children's new cultural environment. In each case, these requests were more than requests. They were also constant reminders to each child who experienced them, that the heritage resources which s/he demonstrated to make his/her own links to what was new in the context of the second-culture classroom was not valued in the way that the alternative comparable second-culture resources of language and use were valued. It seemed as though teachers missed the greater impact which this seeming de-valuing had on children's total human development in the "re-born" (Berryman, 1984) process in the classroom. This was explained by teachers, as a product of their anxiety to share a mutual basis for knowing with the children, rather than one of thinking that children's heritage language resources were not good enough for classroom use. Teachers were also quite certain that the children did not perceive the seeming rejection of their non-English structures as a rejection of themselves, their families and/or their cultural heritage. However, teachers could not help but label the abrupt silence and withdrawal from the interactive contexts as a form of embarrassment. Teachers however declined from verbally indicating where the source of that seeming embarrassment lay. The point which was noted here by the researcher was that it was not the children's different languages which was the source for ruining the initial enthusiasm and interest which their eyes and faces showed as they sought to involve their teachers. Rather, the teachers' responses to the mixture of children's heritage language with English, produced an attitude which marred their enthusiasm and interest. The teachers' attitude demonstrated that these children were dealing with a conventional second-culture classroom strategy of seeking and gaining information inappropriately. As such, teachers felt that by announcing this in a loud tone, those children who had competence in this classroom convention would come to the aid of such children. The videotapes however pointed out that teachers missed the actions of children's hands and eye-contact with the source of their inquiries which complemented their 'inappropriate' verbal mode of communication. As such teachers thereby missed other cultural communication cues to sharing understandings with these children in the interactive contexts. On a further note, teachers unconsciously set the stage for these children to spend a longer time to acquire those basic needs for self-actualization which Maslow(1943) insists are necessary for successful development at each stage in a new context. The requests for children to demonstrate a competence which they had not fully acquired only endorsed the fear, reluctance and insecurity of being equipped with different resources for functioning competently, based on second-culture definitions.

The result of these fears and insecurities were not demonstrated by children in the classroom as they could not miss the fact that the teachers were the more powerful in the interactive relationship in each context. However, these conflicts which they felt were nonetheless demonstrated in their homes. There, numerous on-going conflicts arose among these children's parents and their grandparents who shared the home as extended family members. The latter held very firmly to their original cultural beliefs and ways. For example, little Chinese Keen of Classroom B experienced daily upsetting family squabbles as he refused to greet his grandparents in Chinese on his arrival home from school with his mother who accompanied him twice daily and waited outside the classroom door to ensure his safety beyond the teacher's eyes. Instead, Keen would greet them with "Hallo". This sparked immediate condemnation of his mother who explained the effects of such condemnation with me. She was perceived by her in-laws as "not doing her job as a mother", by teaching her son the "ways" of his "people". Keen's father who traditionally left the continuation of acculturation of his children to his wife, often stepped in on the side of the older members of the family, thereby reinforcing blame for conflicts on his wife. In her words, and throwing her hands in the air, she said frustratedly;

> "What am I to do?
> I say to him, Keen, why you don't say Chinese.

> He got mad with me and he says,
> "Teacher won't like me if I speak Chinese."
> (Meaning that he may not be related to in the same manner as the teacher relates to those who spoke her language)
> I tell his father so, but he say nothing.
> What do I do? I don't know."

In the foregoing situation, Keen seemed to have devised his own coping mechanism for surviving in a system which did not acknowledge what shaped him as an individual. He seemed to have gambled that he may still have the understanding and love of his own family even if he rejected his own language, rather than being deprived of his teacher's "love". And while he was in the environment which the teacher controlled, it may have been safer to quickly become one of those "accepted" ones.

Given that much child-talk was almost prohibited in the classroom except when Miss Belle required such, Keen would not have to say much. None-the-less, he worked at knowing the structures which would be required to provide teacher-expected answers and stuck with them. It was amazing to observe Miss Belle's non-verbal behaviour as she often turned to Keen for the correct answers during large group activities. More often than not, he gave those correct answers.

In the foregoing situation Keen's unique needs which went beyond acquiring the language of instruction were definitely taken for granted by his teacher as being fulfilled. This resulted in one of the worst surprises for Miss Belle at the end of the school year when Keen responded poorly to the final class evaluation. She very disappointingly remarked,

> "Keen really disappointed me. He really didn't do well. He talks too much. I still have to decide whether he should go to Grade I.

The decision after one year came as a surprise to me as well, since it reinforced the fact that even when this child acquired the language of instruction it was not the answer to succeeding in the mono-cultural education program. Success lay in what was identified as knowledge and basically in the ability to identify numbers; to match these with numerals; the ability to write one's name correctly; to write the letters of the alphabet and to identify the colours of crayons. The reality was that this child had arrived in the classroom already knowing those facts in his own language. Very little else in the classroom encouraged this child to use the newly acquired language to satisfy one of his most important needs in his new environment; that is, to make sense of what was to be known and to experience how that knowledge fitted into the greater scheme of his personal life. This was pointed out by Keen's father. Keen never got the opportunity to learn that his own language could be used as an alternative to that of the classroom language. He also did not learn that it was alright to make sense of new learnings in his own language until he could be more proficient at revealing in Standard English the thoughts on what was supposed to be learnt. The atmosphere in the classroom did not offer that support.

As Keen's family members rejected what the school seemed to have done to his acceptance of his own culture, and as Keen rejected his native language for that of the school, his concept of himself and his abilities undoubtedly became an illusion for Miss Belle who presumed that a common language ensured a common understanding and success at learning. The problem in Keen's seeming inability to demonstrate that he was successful at the end of the school year, seemed more related to an environment which did not support the language resources he initially brought to the classroom as the foundation for understanding the second-culture learning environment. Keen, like several other language different children in this classroom, were not promoted to Grade I. From the many months' of documented episodes in this research project, the problems which most impeded these children's success seemed not so much to be the language differences per se which they brought to the classroom~~, but~~ rather, Miss Belle's attitude towards those differences and those who owned them. That attitude implied that non-English-speaking-immigrant children needed to forget the language which helped to create their very being as persons to age five, and needed to assume a new life in the mono-lingual classroom. It appears that this attitude does nothing but perpetuate the fulfillment of the prophecy of failure for these children regardless of any professional good intentions.

This conclusion supports a contribution which Garcon (1983) makes towards the education of the minority language learner. He states,

> From birth the student associates certain ways of doing, feeling, and valuing through the native language. Self-expectations, self-esteem and esteem for others are developed and the student is enculturated through the native language. If the language is not used in school to continue the enculturation process or if it is taught in a mechanical or demeaning fashion as representing the culture it transmits, then the student has no positive way of identifying with schooling. Because the student identifies language with culture, language rejection is considered cultural rejection. As the student's feelings of rejection intensify, self-esteem and expectation shifts, and a negative self-concept develops. Eventually the student rejects schooling. (p. 24)

It was realized that in Classroom B where the minority children's language differences were promptly crushed on their arrival at school, the number of failures was high, the level of teacher job satisfaction was quite low, and the self-confidence of the children who were promoted was quite poor. On the other hand however, as in Classrooms A and C in relative degrees, when more attention was paid to these children's other-than-verbal-modes for learning, 'other-than-subject-area content', teachers' perception of these children changed to being more positive. This change resulted in a feeling of greater security for these children. This in turn provided an indicator to the children to demonstrate through their non-verbal behaviours that they were indeed capable of learning --- only that they had to do this in their own way; in a different time frame and with their body-language indicators which demonstrated the unique ways in which these children were developing their own strategies for making their own those ideas which each program offered. Instead, the urging behaviour seemed more to perpetuate an absolute medium and manner for seeking to understand the ideas and environment. As such, the perception of children and teachers in each other's presence in social contexts was perpetuated on an Us-Them" rather than a "We" relationship (Schultz, 1973)

E. The Teachers : Three kindergarten teachers of English-speaking backgrounds

Garcia (1983) suggests that

> Children whose language is not English, experience a loss of self-esteem while moving through the regular, English only academic program. This consequent loss of self-esteem negatively influences academic achievement. Low academic achievement coupled with personal frustration creates several options for the student, none of them very desirable; drop out or remain in school as

> an under-achiever relegated to low ability or compensatory educational programs. (p. 7)

c) Influences Of The Personal Definitions Of Teaching For Shaping The Process Of Learning

The meaning of experiences varies according to who owns these experiences. The definition or meaning of teaching is no different. Perhaps significant teaching and learning can be maximized when an appropriate attitudinal approach exists in the personal relationship between the teacher as a learner, and the children as learners and teachers.

While parents can hope and dream as in the foregoing excerpts, the other realities which the educators experience from the first impact of acknowledging the presence of the non-English-speaking-immigrant children in a "We relationship" (Schutz, 1973) may even complicate what already seems to be an illusion for these parents. The process of learning in the given contexts may not be pre-packaged and given to these children. Receiving that presumed knowledge may not guarantee the new life which they envisage. Even before teaching what is to be known in terms of primary and secondary linguistic skills and content concepts, these teachers have to get through, or "tune in" to these children's minds in a language foreign to them. Teachers may first have to acknowledge these children as knowing persons who have acquired experiences outside of the second culture classroom. Teaching thereby takes on a different meaning in the multi-cultural context. It cannot be a linear approach as implied in parents' expectations. If this were so, what do teachers actually experience in forging a "way in" in order to achieve mutual understanding with non-English-speaking immigrant children, when both will bring to the learning context, foreign linguistic and cultural backgrounds?

If these children are taught from a deficit framework, what are the consequent effects on the children's involvement in the learning process? What then would the definitions of competence vs performance at program activities really mean in these contexts? What might assimilation mean as against adaptation to new realities for both teacher and children? How do these create conditions for parental and learner expectations? All of these questions come to mind as pertinent to discovering what teaching non-English-speaking immigrant children is like for three kindergarten teachers. With specific reference to Classrooms A, B and C, the constant subtle and overt reminders for non-English-speaking-immigrant childen to quickly desist from using their heritage language seemed to set the stage for many unnecessary conflicts which teachers experienced as they shaped the learning process. Miss Avery and Miss Belle more often than Miss Chase observed themselves responding to these children in a manner which was so different than they interacted with the second-culture children, that it was not difficult to identify that the teachers contributed to the weakening of children's self-esteem. Miss Chase declared, laughing embarrassedly,

"My gosh, I can't believe it. I'm acting like an ape." (January 1984) as she viewed herself trying to communicate with Donnie, a five year old Chinese boy. Donnie's stares at his teacher's animated behaviour, and at the surprised faces of his second-culture peers revealed that he was felt something negative for being different. Teachers explained that at no time were their responses meant to demean these children. Unfortunately, as Irving (1983) explains, "although one did not always speak, messages were always being communicated in face-to-face interactions". As such, although the teachers suggested that their behavioural responses were not intended to attack the self-esteem of these children, they in fact did succeed in causing the frequency of interaction which caused confidence to decrease. Teachers managed to quell these children's anxiety to use their own strategies to actively participate in learning events inspite of what they said. This contradiction resulted in on-going conflicts which teachers experienced in their daily life at shaping the teaching-learning environment. One such conflict, for example, was that each teacher seemed unable to lose sight of a perceived idea that their administrators and the Grade I teachers had expected them to ensure that these non-English-speaking-immigrant children demonstrate competence at a prescribed body of knowledge on their arrival in Grade I. At the same time teachers also acknowledged that these children needed much more time than administrators or the academic program allotted them to find security and self-confidence in the new system. Ultimately, decisions were taken in favour of what administrators expected. As a result, each teacher was more prepared to explain these children's difficulties at task outcomes as decisions which had to be made because of other decision-making outcomes which were beyond her control. In the end the inflexible schedules and prescribed program concepts were justified. Children's problems in dealing with these were attributed to those in higher authority in the school system. 'Time' therefore became a source of conflict which influenced how one aspect of the life experienced in these classrooms was shaped. As 'time' became the ultimate enemy for both teacher and children, each teacher indicated having no other choice than to manage the life in their classrooms in the ways they did. This attitude consequently led to the separation of slow learners from 'fast' learners. Each set of these learners respectively recognized the way they were categorized from teachers' language and actions. Some examples of the behaviour were as follows:

In Classroom C, Miss Chase compares the work done by Don, Jerry, Vietnamese children, and two second-culture peers (1).

(1) Walter, "You're doing great" vs Don, "I hope you catch on soon"
John, "That's fantastic" vs Jerry, "Oh well, umhum, that's okay".

In Classroom B; Miss Belle says,

> "Keen that was the best drawing of all today".
> "Len, why don't you say that you don't understand what you have to do" (although he spoke no English).

In Classroom A; Miss Avery to Chinese learner (1):

> "I think you'ld better put that away until you understand." Dorin "vs "Hoon, show everyone what a great job you did on your animal." vs "Well, your's alright too Inga." (very haltingly)

Each teacher's language and tactile behaviours constantly reinforced the poor self-esteem of those who struggled along and reinforced the high self-esteem of those who seemed confident about their tasks. As such, an attitude of either not knowing or knowing was perpetuated. Also, each teacher's language and actions determined the degree to which each child did not satisfy the task expectations, and therefore did not satisfy the teacher's expectations.

The conflicts which these teachers experienced consequently materialized in several inconsistencies between what they knew would be more supportive approaches for creating the learning process and the environment for the non-English speaking children and what each had to do to demonstrate being "effective teachers" to their Grade I peers and administrators. The consequence of this survival type of decision-making obviously contributed very little if any (as in Classroom B) support to the language different children to find a level of security from which to build on the strengths which they brought to the learning situation. This in turn initiated the cycle of labelling, poor performance and constant recommendations for E.S.L. programs which were dispensed as an additive to the regular kindergarten program.

The ultimate conflict which teachers experienced was that both non-English-speaking children and themselves seemed to be in a 'no-win' situation. That is, while teachers thought that they demonstrated "effectiveness" through the number of children promoted to Grade I, because these children demonstrated certain competencies, their inner feeling was one of having failed to "feel" that "something" related to a fulfillment or satisfaction about having really "reached" the minds of these children. There was very little personal satisfaction for them in the process which they felt obligated to retain, but which they acknowledged was unsuited to facilitating success. The children on the other hand seemed resigned to experience an on-going passive role for the next stage of their educational lives. The solution to this situation of conflicts, according to Miss Avery, lay in the children's need for more time. She predicted this could only be realized in a Kindergarten-Grade I split class where these children could become saturated in the language of instruction. At the same time the pressure of cognitive-academic expectations would be reduced if these children could be afforded a longer time period to demonstrate responses on evaluation tests in a manner expected by Grade I teachers and administrators. Miss Belle on the other hand, predicted

> "If the school and especially the Grade I teacher did not expect so much, then they may have a chance. But I don't think I can do any more when

they expect so much." (February, 1984)

Miss Chase seemed less concerned about what the administration expected of her since she could justify her procedure for these children. However, she demonstrated a 'fear' for what her "average" immigrant learner would experience in the "hands of the Grade I teacher". This fear was later explained through discussions with the Grade I teacher(s) in order to set Miss Chase's perception in the whole picture context of influences on the shaping of the Kindergarten life for these children.

Grade I Teacher

In Grade I, the teachers' perceptions of the learning process was reduced to transmitting and recalling factual knowledge. In short, the most important approach to learning was the cognitive-academic skill acquisition approach. Here, non-English-speaking-immigrant children were viewed just as "any other child" in the Grade I class. Since these teachers already knew that there would be little Standard English spoken by these children in the cases of Schools A and B, teachers had already anticipated that there would be little mutual communication with these children. Thus, all that seemed important was to place these children in peer group situations and they would learn from the other children in the group. The question which arose was what happened when the other members of the peer groups were themselves introverted, shy, insecure and/or limited in language facility for sharing common understanding? Learning successfully in this situation was left only to chance from English-speaking peers. The implied assumption here was that identical treatment of the needs of non-English-speaking children should result in similar learning effects: success for all. While each Grade I teacher acknowledged and suggested respect for the children's culture and language differences, treating these children as just "another child in the class", did not reflect a positive or supportive approach towards helping them to experience a successful life in these classrooms. (Miss Denver in Grade I suggested, "I can't sit and wait on a single child because he speaks a different language or he is from a different culture"). As a result of such thinking, an atmosphere permeated by an attitude of empathy for the trauma and conflicts suffered by these children was not guaranteed. Ironically, by not being "bothered" by the children's cultural and linguistic differences this teacher claimed that she was an effective teacher as she got results in the form of high rates of promotion of her children to Grade II.

Other Grade I teachers openly expressed empathy for the fears which immigrant parents held about being unable to understand the system of schooling. They felt helpless as they could not assist their children in school concepts at home. Nevertheless the teachers were even more open about their reluctance to even entertain the idea of modifying the education tasks, or environment, although they believed that this could facilitate a higher level of success for these children. The argument was, that such action was "another's job".

The general situation in the case of the Grade I teachers seemed to be one of cognitive dissonance; believing on the one hand that the classroom environment could or would take care of non-English-speaking children's unique needs through a "swimming-with-peers" approach, but also believing on the other hand that if they did not learn in that unifying situation then children were the primary causal source of a frustrating life in the multi-cultural classroom.

Another conflict which was demonstrated in Grade I was that in each of these classrooms, teachers recognized that the non-English-speaking-immigrant children performed better at symbolic content areas such as mathematics, than their second-culture peers. Each agreed that when the symbolic (or universal) medium was encouraged, they 'felt' a more quality relationship with these children because 'things seemed to be happening' (Grade I Teacher, School A, November, 1983). Unfortunately, those "things" were only children's demonstrations of the correct teacher expected calculations and outcomes of the mathematical problems. Nonetheless, the point was that the teachers observed that these children seemed to have accomplished results without the need for on-going Standard English input. This was credited to the demonstrations (actions) which indicated what was required of them. These demonstrations produced those and many other revelations of these children's potential ability to succeed at tasks. Naturally, when the children recognized teachers' acceptance and pleasure at what they produced, tension was less, and a feeling of belonging was established for them. Unfortunately mathematics was only one subject area slotted into a specific schedule for children to experience as "any other child in the classroom". Teachers did not feel the necessity to schedule so as to provide more of these symbolic activities through which these children could experience in success. It was found necessary for all children to engage in all activities in the same time slot. The level of success which each experienced from all activities was over-ruled by the importance for all to cover all activities in a scheduled time period. The language and cultural differences were not as important, given the other realities of the teachers' professional life. It seemed quite clear that it was in these Grade I classrooms that a sure road through an assimilationist experience was clearly marked for non-English-speaking-immigrant children. The burdens of unlearning, learning new values, customs, new expectations and learning to think and communicate in a new language were quietly endured by these children. These children nevertheless presented daily impressions of being comfortable and capable. Unfortunately, these impressions were mere illusions in which both teachers and children participated in their attempts at to survive in the mono-cultural system. While teachers acknowledged that in learning to think in the language in use, relevant contexts were an important part of that process for learning, teachers openly indicated that there was no guarantee for nurturing a different process than that which they had already spent years developing. The need for a more unique life experience in the classroom required the modification of what already existed. Teachers expressed the assurance that this modification just could not be entertained, given the entire picture of the general education program which the rest of the school offered. Teachers were only prepared to acknowledge and practice any modified approaches to creating a more appropriate time-content teaching process when the "teacher-effectiveness and security" effects of their career was guaranteed.

F. The Program

Each of the three kindergarten programs reflected certain common characteristics. For example, the data revealed that each of these programs was not necessarily a kindergarten program per se. Instead, each seemed to be a three-in-one program which catered least of all to the need for the support, for the self-esteem, self-confidence and security of the non-English-speaking immigrant children. Each catered more especially to the Grade I teachers' expectations, and to the children's prospective E.S.L. teachers' expectations. The latter was justified by the Kindergarten teachers who felt compelled to partly equip these children with vocabulary and skills (speaking complete sentences, etc.) which they were not quite sure these children would receive in their E.S.L. classes. Kindergarten teachers feared that when these children entered the E.S.L. programs shared with other minority ethnic learners of varying ages, they would "regress from the level of Standard English" they may have learnt in the kindergarten class. Once again, the pre-occupation which these children's acquisition of the second language was perpetuated beyond the programs which the kindergarten teachers controlled. This pre-occupation seemed quite ironical as the kindergarten teachers themselves provided very little self-initiated and teacher-structured opportunities, time, and patience which these children needed to use the level of English which they acquired day by day. Teachers explained that this was necessary since it was felt that the E.S.L. programs ignored the new semantic references through which children made any sense of their new environment. Once again it was ironic to provide such justification when these teachers themselves sought to ignore children's original semantic references when they used their own language and complementary actions to demonstrate their needs in the new classroom environments.

It was felt that these children would regress as a result of the "behaviouristic" approach to language and learning in the E.S.L. programs after experiencing immersion in Standard English in peer interactions in the kindergarten classrooms. Ironically, what was defined as learning, or how ideas were to be learned was initiated in a similar approach in the Kindergarten classroom. The only difference is that here it was justified as social learning which had to be transmitted by teachers' language in a repetitious manner, as well as by punishment for misinterpretation of what behaviours were expected from the teachers' language.

At this point it became clear why time seemed to be the ultimate enemy for these teachers in modifying their programs so these children could be afforded opportunities to ensure the fullest development of their potential at that specific time in the Kindergarten class. Kindergarten teachers agreed that these children needed a minimum of three to four months of immersion into the language of their English-speaking peers, after which reasonable expectations for mutual communication could take place between themselves and these children. With six months left of the school year for learning, the subject matter became that which counted as knowledge. Because concern was expressed about what could happen to the children at another time, even when quality enrichment activities for enjoyment were part of that program, as in Classroom C, the content and teacher attitudes demonstrated in that program per se ultimately became knowing letters, colours, shapes, sizes and being disciplined in following and obeying teachers' instructions. This obsession with another teacher's concerns seemed so pervasive that even where, as in Classroom C, a teacher had no need to entertain doubts about the E.S.L. support for children's unique needs, it still occurred, even though the program in Classroom C tried very hard to provide support for a positive attitude to self, to school and to learning how to survive functionally in two different cultures. Time was nevertheless spent in ensuring that children knew how to sit through a common worksheet activity, and follow general instructions given by the teacher. At the same time the children were intimidated by the pace of the their second-culture peers at such tasks.

Programs (curricula) in this light found their source in the expectations of people, other than the children themselves. This, then, naturally perpetuated an assimilationist attitude in program delivery and intention, where unifying activities were used to transmit cognitive knowledge from teachers to children. This source of program content seemed to strip the teaching-learning interaction of more qualitative use of time in which both the teachers and children could utilize the children's semantic and cognitive references for structuring program activities. This concern also created unnecessary tension which affected children's self-esteem.

G. The E.S.L. Program In School C

It was comforting to find that there was one situation in which the source of program experience would be the defined kindergarten children themselves. This was the E.S.L. program of School C. Here, the teacher herself has her origin in a minority culture and had personally experienced the trauma of striving to think and function in her native and second-culture language simultaneously. The only positive support for this program was the small number of minority students who required "doses" of E.S.L. input. Nevertheless, she had six different language groups represented among the children who received help to make a positive integration into the new language and culture.

In both the pedagogical activities and expressed meanings of her experience this teacher confirmed that without a high degree of empathy, a teacher cannot find any personal satisfaction in having helped the immigrant children to move from one point of learning to another in mono-lingual education systems. There had to be some aspect of putting one's self in these children's "shoes", before the extent of the psychological, emotional and cognitive confusion which they experience, and which results in their seeming ultimate poor performance could be understood and catered to differently by the teacher. This teacher indicated that since many immigrant children have their origin in countries that are in turmoil, the children bring to the classroom additional problems to those inherent in learning a second language, that is, English. When children can make progress in spite of these additional problems, it is especially commendable. However, in many cases, the confusion they bring is so great that it hinders the learning process. She suggested that only when "empathy" and "compassion" are used in a way to determine the special needs which each of these children has is she is able to provide a sense of *security* for each. This in turn helps the process of learning to become somewhat easier. It facilitates an easier development of a *closer relationship* with the children than she could have in a larger classroom, and in the absence of *experiencing with* the children *what they had come from*, *where they were, and who they were*, and what was special for and about them --- through *an empathic attitude*. In the Kindergarten, Grade I and the two other E.S.L. classes the "time" for developing such an empathic attitude seemed to terrify the teachers. Their reactions were as though they perceived the whole scheme of pre-planned knowledge going up in smoke before their very eyes. This was truly a frightening thought to entertain, or more so, to put into practice. At this point, the E.S.L. teacher's classroom was the only one in which visible evidence was seen of pictures, scenes and other intercultural activities to which non-English-speaking-immigrant children could retain some link to their past. Using pictures which reflected an intercultural representation of children's faces showing different felt emotions, she allowed such children to relate independently or in groups to the pictures. Older children of original language backgrounds work as interpreters with the new children to interact verbally in both English and their heritage language. Miss Lyn responded in non-verbal ways, as she documented other information of interests, enthusiasm, learning mannerisms, and so on about each child during those learning events. For others, with a smattering of basic English, the teaching process became somewhat easier because communication was easier. It was extremely difficult to work with the child who had absolutely no English, unless other-than-linguistic cues were also used as signs of potential for learning.

The obvious characteristic model of the E.S.L. programs in Schools A and B was that of a 'teacher-stimulus-children's-response' situation. Here, teachers held up pictures of whatever concept was dealt with. The teacher said the *name* of that object, and had the class repeat same. Worksheets were later completed where the mimeographed pictures were matched to the English word/name of the object from the teacher's copy of this name on the chalkboard. This approach was justified in the name of "teaching functional vocabulary". Ironically, the words dealt with were never put in semantic contexts, either in the manner in which they had meaning in the second-culture, or in the children's original cultures. Teacher Lyn found this approach a waste of process time. She considered such rule governed approaches to help the process of communication only as a tool to get by for the things school perceived as knowledge. This was explained as a waste of everyone's time. Instead, she shared that each time she received a new child in her E.S.L. classroom her first question was always the one she repeated to herself for every other.

> "Now, how does a parent communicate with a young child who is just on the threshold of learning his/her first words in any language?"

She suggested that in an analogous way, the two situations were identical. In the same way that the mother

> "oohs and ahs, and coaxes, and even uses sign language and demonstrative language",

the E.S.L. teacher might be able to use such variations of inventive techniques to communicate initially with non-English-speaking-immigrant children. The point she tried to make here was that

> "their language should not be perceived as a problem in their potential to learn, (teachers should not be hung up on) as there were more important things at stake for them (the children) --- their feelings --- gosh --- if you've been through it --- you'll feel that it's like severing your navel cord from your mother and that was your last connection with her --- That's what it feels like to be uprooted and thrown into a new culture where everyone thinks you're intruding and at the same time wants you to be perfect from the day-one." (June, 1984)

This teacher was convinced that if the resources of other children who had been through the trauma and survived it were to be utilized at the lower levels of the school teachers could experience an invaluable experience of learning much more than these children's language factor was a problem for them. She herself enlisted the assistance of the children who spoke the heritage language of those children she worked with. Through this strategy, she explained, she demonstrated to each child that she valued their total human background resources as sources for making links to the new life which they had to experience. She also believed that through this strategy she consciously attempted not to treat any immigrant child as the other, or even as just another child in the class. Through the language input of the older children in her classroom she learnt about the uniqueness of each family background represented by the children in the classroom. This helped her to understand each child better. This in turn added to each child's sense of security because it gave each the feeling that the teacher was really interested in each as a person. This she claimed, helped to create a more sensitive and appropriate teaching-learning process. She resisted from beginning with any expectations of how each child would progress because, to her, children learn in different ways and at different rates. She expressed a belief that if she is to teach the child something of the Canadian culture, then at the same time she had to learn from the child something of his or her culture. She also believed that this invited the child's respect since she recognized that the child's culture is just as important as the host culture. Thus, she used the integrated approach in which she did not ask the child to forget his/her past and/or to lose his/her original identity. In this way the children in this teacher's class were given the opportunity to integrate into their new environment, rather than being forced to assimilate as in the other E.S.L. and Grade I classrooms.

The question of tests for Non-English-speaking-immigrant children on their arrival in the new classroom and culture also held different meaning for this teacher compared to the meaning which her counterparts in Schools A and B held. This teacher did not see the appropriateness, nor the relevance of test content to the lives and time of arrival of these children. She questioned the validity of such tests where the teachers do not use the children's original language for understanding their previous knowledge, and the children do not speak the language of the teachers on their tests. There was no communication of meaning in the content of these tests. Hence, there was no validity to the information retrieved nor to the conclusion that these children were deficient of potential ability to learn. It was morally and professionally inaccurate to denounce them as having learning problems before they were even given the opportunity to find their security in a strange situation. In her meaning of facilitating the growth of a knowing person, this teacher justified the risks of her being "different", and communicated to her administrators, her different approach and understanding of creating a learning process which could ensure the children's survival. To replace "testing" as the ultimate measurement of progress or success, she used her own subjective judgement from initial observations of children's non-verbal interactions. She also used much documentation of physical demonstrations of fears, joy, anxieties, hostility and *mainly*, creativity. These she used to define growth in each child's becoming *competent* in doing at each stage of their development. The unique and demonstrable differences in belief held by this teacher and those of the others who participated were,

a) to teach successfully is to help children experience learning successfully.

b) to help children to learn successfully then let the children be the primary source of their initial learning.

c) to use children as the source of their learning one has to get to know the *roots* which anchor that source; that is, their backgrounds, in every way possible.

For this teacher there could be no excuse for thinking that

> teaching these children "*should be* one way. Rather, teaching *has to be* another way because ... It is this way or that --- or else we are just being dishonest with ourselves and my God --- with those children who already have so much which they don't understand about their own situation ('lies, all lies') to have more" (lies) (Teacher Interview, June 20, 1984).

In terms of time she believed that the immigrant children may need at least three years to reach a state of fluency in the language of the classroom instruction. Her observation supports a similar conclusion made by Cummins (1979). Time for learning for these children was therefore also viewed differently. For example, she suggested that in place of what other teachers referred to as social training, bombarding children with the language of what was wrong and right social behaviours, she substituted an "adjustment" period where older children and new children work on lists of 'past-present-future' links to the original and new culture in which the new children need to function. An example of such lists which allowed this teacher to build a vocabulary and discussion lesson anchored in the child's interest and personal life, follows in a re-created episode of the activity.

Context

Two Japanese children, grade 4 and grade 2 looking at family pictures of the latter child.

The Grade 4 child reminisced with the new child about the places he missed. The latter child was encouraged to "draw" from his pictures the places he missed. Three places were singled out, "church", "gardens" and "the bridge over the river". The Grade 4 child labelled those buildings with the English words. The following day's lesson for this child involved viewing the pictures of the "Alberta Legislative Grounds Garden in Summer", the St. Joseph's Church of the Norwood area and the High level bridge over the Saskatchewan river. Teacher and child selected three of his childhood pictures and together they placed him in each of the foregoing locations. This was a common experience for this child. Those three words, pictures and other emotions which were felt as a result of what was initiated in the child's personal meaning were "all his". He had an ownership of this experience and a shared one about the culture in which he now lives.

The foregoing went well beyond knowing how to compute mathematical formulae and writing vocabulary out of meaningless contexts. The adjustment period which was facilitated in this way set the stage for a high level of security and success at other tasks for this child in both the E.S.L. and Grade 2 classrooms. This teacher tried to illuminate her point that

> learning takes place over time --- "the child's time --- not our time as we seem to want --- but this is only how it works for one. I'm satisfied with doing for them the best I can each time they are here. I don't worry about doing it for the classroom teacher or whatever. I can only work with what they show me --- I don't know." (June 20, 1984)

This teacher's appeal for continuity between the experiences provided by the E.S.L. classroom and the "Home-room" teacher for the children's sake implied the need for all teachers to assume responsibility for children's success at school programs. She also implied that accountability must be accepted simultaneously with responsibility when failure

> is perpetuated simply because "no one wants to take risks to be creative at teaching these children --- and rather use all these guide books which only say how to teach them --- but they have nothing given about anything about the child's feelings. I don't use those ---. I've read some, but I try everything for them." (June 20, 1985)

In this teacher's meaning of this process success can be experienced only when previous experiences in the original culture are identified, understood and used to build new or alternative equivalent experiences in the new culture. This she claims is

> "the only way to develop a more positive self-concept --- which they so need because of what they come from". (June 20, 1985)

For this teacher these children's language differences and teachers' limited time are the least of the problems which should impede children's learning in the mono-cultural system. Instead the former are much more "easy to get around", than the need for "connectiveness in the whole context of these children's lives". This "connectiveness" implied the need for teachers to know from what these children came; to find their source of motivation, to know, and then "to work from there". This in turn implied the need for teachers who were highly sensitive to children who seem to bring ever more sensitivity to the learning context than their English peers. While these implications were acknowledged by other teachers in relative degrees, they were not necessarily practiced. Knowing and practicing these beliefs were however demonstrated in this E.S.L. program.

H. The Philosophy

It is said that sometimes what people believe is often more important than what is the reality of a situation. Perhaps this is one reason why it was so easy for participating teachers to justify the need for their pedagogical practices which were quite inconsistent with the philosophies they professed to hold for creating their teaching-learning processes. It would also be agreed that there is a written and/or verbal commitment to helping each child develop as naturally as is possible, regardless of the cultural origin of the teachers and children. Accepting the students' backgrounds, respecting and endorsing their unique differences and catering to their needs are important ingredients of a successful life in any classroom.

However, because of the compulsion which teachers in this study had to complete "so much", in "so little time", good intentions became lost in the race against time to ensure that prescribed content was learnt. The consequence was a complete reduction of what was intended to be a program which allowed discovery, and learning how to learn. The alternative resulted in a program in which it was assumed that, to treat all fairly was to treat all their needs similarly. This however led to an even more strained effort of being in control of children's learning.

In the case of the participating teachers, what their Administrators believed and expected of them in relation to "showing demonstrable results in the number of children promoted, became more important than what teachers believed was best in the interest of personal success for the children whom the programs served. The philosophies of these teachers were significantly reduced to a translation into programs which sought to transmit a preferred language system, prescribed knowledge and cultural understandings in a teaching-as-usual manner.

This attitude created many further inconsistencies between teachers' philosophies and their pedagogical practices. These inconsistencies gave rise to further conflicts in the life which teachers experienced in their multi-cultural classrooms. It seemed from these inconsistencies that a basic fact of the unique social interaction created by the presence of people from extremely different value systems was consistently overlooked. That fact was, nothing about the teacher-student relationship was homogenous. However, the teaching-as-usual manner and the use of traditional curriculum content demonstrated that teachers practiced as though all characteristics were homogenous. It was assumed that the physical presence of all in the same physical space, made that relationship homogenous. From here on, the shaping of the teaching-learning process simply perpetuated that assumption and propagated the attitude of that assumption in a number of ways. Some of these characteristics were as follows:

— Teaching new ideas seemed to reflect a herding experience whereby all children were gathered together to learn the same content, on the same day and through the same teaching strategy.

—— Ideas which seemed necessary to share in teaching-learning events were discussed only from a second culture perspective.

For example, the topic of "the wind moves things" was being discussed in Classroom A. Miss Avery initiated the activity with a poem --- "Who Has Seen The Wind?". As Miss Avery conducted the discussion on how one could identify the wind among the leaves of trees, Shanon, an escapee from Vietnam, constantly interrupted to describe how the wind helped their boat to escape from Vietnam. Unfortunately, Shanon's uncertain, halting way of relating that real experience in his life jeopardised the time frame in which the teacher's topic had to be discussed. As a result, his contributions were greeted with the teacher's courteous, but patronizing "oh, nice, Shanon"; "yes --- I see, Shanon". although she did not take the time to wait to hear all of Shanon's story. Facts about the wind, and how to recognize that it is there although it cannot be seen afforded a more testable experience of recalling and regurgitating facts the teacher provided for identifying the wind. Teaching to retrieve facts influenced the process in this classroom considerably. The above in turn gradually reinforced an atmosphere permeated by conflicts which teachers, children and parents continued to endure and to keep veiled in the name of "the teacher's ability to perform well". (Teachers getting higher percentages of children who completed evaluation exercises for promotion to the higher classes).

I. The Administration

The perceptions which administrators held of the causes for failure, and/or success for the non-English-speaking-immigrant children could be stated in the following manner:

> --- The concept of multi-culturalism brought with it problems that have been beyond the scope of many school administrators to solve.
>
> --- There is urgent need for a re-assessment of what education in "these times" is all about. Schools are now representative of many cultures. Classrooms reflect this, yet education has retained a mono-cultural perspective. There is a need to change any mis-match between teacher preparation programs and multi-ethnic client needs.

> --- All education personnel need to avail themselves to become more aware of building on the variety of values, customs, differences and diversities which multi-culturalism brings. There is a need to "carve" a suitable balance of education ffrom having an absolute homogenous focus to one which utilizes those diversities as valuable resources for ensuring higher success rates for the new children. "The botom line is, teachers alone cannot do it; principals can't do it; everyone has to come out of his little world --- parents, children and all, to do it." (Principal A, October, 1983)
>
> --- Principals should be given more lattitude to contribute more content to teacher education programs.
>
> > "Principals have the problems; they know the pitfalls [which teachers face when put before children whom they cannot relate to through normal everyday language. Many times the issues go way beyond not being able to speak the language." (Principal, School B, October 1983).
>
> --- The reality of the current situation which affects all school personnel and the new immigrant child is one that has "to go with the flow" of whatever the principals have no control to date. This was put quite frankly by the principal of School B who said,
>
> The bottom line as far as I'm concerned is that I want my teachers to be happy and comfortable in their jobs. They can only do so much. There's not too much that principals can do. Education is big business. Everyone looks to see where it's best to put scarce dollars. It does not always mean --- in the most needed places. But --- good luck. (Principals of Schools A, B, C; October 23, 1983)

The underlying concensus was that another factor which most influenced failure or success for non-English-speaking-immigrant children was the teacher's commitment to a lot more "tolerance and understanding than they would normally show for the native children." (Principal A, October, 1983).

Administrator's expectations were that these teachers would uphold, and transmit what was expected in order to prepare these children to experience successful functioning at each level of the school system, regardless of their different backgrounds.

Administrators ~~acknowledged~~ the foregoing as teachers' primary roles. However, the notion of collective responsibility for what was taught and/or for the children's failures to acquire and demonstrate competence in what was taught was not perceived in their administrative roles. The consequences of failures in their perception were at the economic and political levels where the variety and longevity of support systems and adequate teacher training are spawned. This 'realistic' attitude, as one principal put it, suggested that the initiative of change rests with the teachers to modify, or not to modify existing traditional learning environments and practices for the successful development of these children's potential.

At this level, what seemed to exist was an attitude of "passing the problem higher up". No one seemed to assume responsibility for what is so little understood: that is, multi-culturalism as an asset to more global knowledge demonstrated through the cultural learning styles, backgrounds and cognitive references of these children. School administrators therefore relied on the higher levels of Administrators to test and otherwise provide additional services for these children's survival.

At a yet higher level Administrators also blamed the children's failures primarily on the following factors:

—— the socio-economic turmoil and deprivation in the children's original countries;

—— the identity, social and cultural crises suffered by these children in the second culture;

—— the crises suffered by other expectations and demands placed on both the children and their families; (Interview Data, School Board Administrator, 1983).

This administration believed that since the children involved had already experienced a feeling of displacement which initially battered at their self-esteem, the foregoing crises only set in motion the vicious cycle of other factors which impeded success. These in turn contributed towards eradicating any positive concept of themselves becoming competent learners by their teachers' definitions.

To a lesser extent failure and/or success was also blamed on an assumption about parents. It was suggested that very often children and parents do not leave the motherland together for the new country. The children reside with extended family members who do not, or cannot sufficiently supervise their attendance at school. Thus, by the time the children join parents in Canada, children are inadequately prepared for the school grade to which they normally belong. It is assumed that some of them are so "ill-prepared academically", that they are incapable of communicating efficiently even in their mother-tongue. Thus, the process of learning is complicated from the offset, since communication is held as the key element in the primarily verbal teaching-learning process in the new culture.

Unable to cope in the new environment, such children sometimes resort to rebellion against the school system as a coping mechanism. Immigrant children receive no additional support systems, other than those offered to the regular students to cope with the subtle psychological, emotional and social crises which result from the effects of alienation they feel in the system.

Ultimately at the highest level of Administration, blame or commendations for what happened to the non-English-speaking-immigrant children in the education systems was explained in the following way:

> Success or failure in any system depends on how the persons in that system adjust, cope or adapt. It is a responsibility for those who manage the system to help those who join the system to be successful. So, in the case of these children, the responsibility for adjusting to the social and educational changes to meet the needs of these children --- ah -- would be left solely with the classroom teacher -- if s/he is willing to make the adjustments. (Interview Data, School Board Administrator, September, 1983)

J. The Parents

The parents seem to hold on to this hope and they look to the education system to give their children an opportunity for a better quality of life than they themselves have had. However, in the following expressions of hopes one cannot help noting that parents conceptualize the process of learning in a linear way. Let us share some of the perceptions of some of the parents of the Non-English-speaking immigrant children who participated in this study. The recurring words and phrases which point to the education system to fulfill new hopes and new beginnings are emphasized.

In reference of children's stories of hope previously presented, a close look at the foregoing stories indicate operative words and phrases which suggest that these parents seem to conceptualize their own formula for their children's success at school programs. The basic underlying themes are:

i) The second-culture society offers a variety of opportunities through which their children can realize a future that is better than the one their forefathers had.

ii) The school and other educational agents know what is best for these children in order that the goal indicated in (i) can be realized.

iii) The teacher, through her teaching and the school's program, can make (i) and (ii) possible.

What is missing from the foregoing summarized expectations is that the participating teachers may not necessarily share the hopes of these parents. The teachers may have a more complex picture. How do they actually feel about this perfect picture which these hopeful parents paint? How do they perceive the effects of parental expectations on the children's view of what is to be known, and how?

These teachers themselves have a different view of the world and of the non-English-speaking-immigrant parents and their children. What might be their notions of possible success for these children? How might knowing and what is to be known be defined by these teachers? How congruent might their empirical experiences be with those who pursue new dreams and a new hope? It was hoped that when teachers shared their experience of teaching the Non-English-speaking immigrant children, then new light may have been shed on these and more questions and a greater understanding of the issues might result.

As a footnote, one might point out that the consequences of parents' hopes for their children in the presumed "Promised Land", Canada, may be an illusion which acts to erode the motivation of immigrant children to perform successfully and to succeed.

In Classroom C where the teacher took the initiative to bridge the gap between school and home backgrounds of the new immigrant children by visiting their homes, a reduced tension in inter-personal relationship was realized in a shorter time. To a lesse degree, the opposite was experienced in Classrooms A and B. Unfortunately, while two to three teacher visits helped to make children's initiation into the new school system somewhat less traumatic, conflicts nevertheless existed throughout the earlier periods of children's adjustment to their new environment. Examples of conflicts due to parental beliefs which put an additional dimension of strain on the teachers were the following:

> --- the parents of immigrant children felt that their children should learn different things from that which the school expected them to learn.

As such, what the parents seemed interested in was not necessarily what the children, or their teachers were interested in for one reason or another. For example, children were interested in developing an understanding of the new culture through the variety of simulated real-life materials available in the classrooms by acting out their own personal experiences. Teachers were rarely interested in this as too much time was used up which might be "better spent" in learning what had to be tested at the end of the school year for promotion to Grade I. Teachers' primary interests in what had to be learnt therefore was what subject matter could be tested.

Parents seemed resigned to the fact that it was a waste of time for their children to learn alphabet characters for recall on evaluation tests. Their concern was for their children's learning to take place solely in the language of instruction. This they suggested was the first stumbling block in their children being successful or not. The problem which arises from who decides what these children should learn and how still remains the ultimate conflict which everyone in the learning context experiences. Given that the child holds the least power than any of the foregoing significant Others in the education process, decisions are almost always made by those Others. As the conflicts continue, parents leave their children's education to the teachers only. They concentrate on accumulating a secure financial standing from working at more than one job. This they claim will ensure their children "a better way of life", even if they "don't make it in school". Their ultimate concern is that their children have a better future than their parents had --- success or no success at school program. One parent suggested,

> "After all, the almighty buck talks louder than any schooling". (Parent Interview; June, 1984)

One Vietnamese parent, a displaced University professor claimed,

> "In North America, the almighty dollar gives a body the future. Not education. Look at me, you think they will give me a job here without a lot of fuss". (November 18, 1983)

Unfortunately, sometimes even this good intention of securing a sound financial future becomes another factor which rebounds on children in the education process. This happens as children who were accustomed to going home to the security of at least one parent being in the home, no longer find that parent there. The long absences of parents away from their children tear away another significant degree of their control over their children's level of motivation in the school, and what the school thinks is best for them to know in order to function competently in the second culture program.

Gradually parents seem forced to assume less responsibility and control over what is best for their children in the new education system. Their children's development becomes dissected and delegated to agencies scattered throughout the community. This attitude is perceived by educators as an attitude of not caring to assume some responsibility for their children's education; rather than being due to the powerlessness which parents feel from their seeming alienation from many aspects of the system. The crucial point which was missed or not acknowledged by teachers and other educators in this system was that parents were the first teachers of these children. As such, they more than anyone else would be most capable of contributing towards their children's life in the new learning context. This would entail a more active participation of parents in the role of the support -agencies both in the school and the community in which these children live. In each of the Schools A, B and C, this type of relationship with parents was non-existent.

K. Time: The Length Of Day:

The physical time per se which each kindergarten program spanned is three hours. However, for Misses Avery and Chase especially, teaching non-English-speaking-immigrant children is a twenty-four hour cause for concern. This was stated in the following way by Miss Chase,

> I find myself taking David home mentally every day -- trying to figure out what to do to make him do as the other children (the local children). But, after discussing the situation with you I realized that I was trying to get him to do what I wanted and not what was good for him. It's doubly frustrating --- you know.

While each teacher acknowledged that every child has special needs as individuals, the non-English-speaking-immigrant children seemed to have even more needs as a result of "little" time, new values and new expectations against which they would be measured in the second culture. Teachers acknowledged these special needs. They also recognized that these needs could only be met if they knew how to respond in a more helpful way, but without sacrificing 'time' which already seemed inadequate to share on a one-to-one basis with the regular classroom population. They also acknowledged the "rightness" of a process in which time is needed for teachers to learn from the non-English-speaking-immigrant children in order to help them to adapt the learning process to match the way learning takes place for them. However, 'time' became the source of the teachers' basic conflicts of what to teach, how and when, given the reality of what administrators expect from them in the name of teacher effectiveness. While the above explanations seemed to be legitimate grounds for their personal decisions to opt for the choice to mould the new children into the stereotype of unifying content, their teaching strategies and evaluation reflections on teaching episodes indicated other realities. For example, when teachers abandoned lengthy pre-task information, gave just enough teacher-talk to initiate their expectations, then gave language and action inputs as children worked at these tasks, a higher degree of meaningful results were realized. Also, when teacher initiated concepts were intrinsically built in to learning centres of interests which invited children to initiate the direction in which they would embrace and explore those concepts, more desired outcomes were realized. This was experienced since teachers' interventions were only given for the needs at the specific time when children's actions demonstrated those needs. In short, when teachers introduced concepts, gave minimum initial instructions, supported those verbal and non-verbal intervention when they were most needed, the same time produced more rewarding and positive learning results. This was primarily experienced as both teachers and children built on each other's leads and immediate strengths in the specific situation. However without a conscious effort to reflect on the effects of the foregoing strategies and what the defined children got out of the tasks, time spent in this way was perceived as wasted. This was due to the fact that teachers still perceived time for learning from the traditional institutional perspective of adequate knowledge, content and the function which this should play in the children's future. For example, teachers suggested that they experienced conflicts of right or wrong if they helped children through verbal and action interventions. This questioning sought answers as to whether the children really learnt anything about the concept. This questioning also prevailed when native peers assisted the defined children. What was implied in this questioning attitude was the importance of independent production of similar results, regardless of the difficulty children experienced in arriving at those results. The difference between success or failure for the non-English-speaking-immigrant children lay in the attitude teachers expressed about how time was used.

L. The Physical Plant (Facilities)

Outside of formal classtime the playground structures and open spaces became a sort of sanctuary from the pressures of imposed learning for the defined children. Teachers observed that children, both native and immigrant transcended their different language barriers to make rules for games which they played together. Quite often children's actions, and other non-verbal input into their consultations and negotiations seemed quite intriguing in accomplishing mutual results. The levels of participation and initiative taking for creative play activities were much higher during these unstructured learning situations. Unfortunately, outdoor activities were also viewed in a traditional manner. That is, the traditional dichotomy between learning in and out of school remained in their respective places. There was very little willingness to adopt the initiative-taking role which the non-English-speaking children assumed for directing the way experiences would go. 'Play' was play when children left the physical influences of the teachers, especially teachers A and B. Work was what was done within the four walls of the classroom.

Figures (X.a, X b)then illustrate the perceived models on which the general teaching-learning processes in Schools A, B and C seemed to be shaped.

The Perceived Models of the General Structure of Educational Life in School A.

	Perceived Model of Social Accommodation In The Community In Which This School Exists	Perceived Model of Education In This School Context	Perceived Model Of Learning Theory In This Classroom	Model of Language Teaching (Standard English)	Model of Second Language Education
School A	A Cultural-Pluralist Model: Here, earlier established immigrants of the different ethnic groups - Asians, Spanish and West Indians foster a feeling whereby new immigrants are encouraged to "retain their own cultures in parallel with those of the host community" (Saunders, 1982, p.2) Unfortunately, while immigrants are free to develop according to their own cultural ways, the extent of community living tends to reinforce the linguistic, social and cultural values which in turn create many conflicts with those of the school. The original culture values are non-the-less superimposed by those of the dominant culture.	A Human Relations Model: (Saunders, 1982) Through this perceived model, the attitudes of members of the dominant group reflect visible signals of respect for the individual's dignity and worth of all ethnic groups represented in the classroom. As such, the focus of social learning is 'everyone's right to be in the classroom and to share the facilities should be respected. The cognitive focus is intended to "fit" the immigrant child with functional skills of re-producing the teacher expected responses to subject area content which are tested by subsequent teachers through independent efforts. An equal opportunity idea is suggested by this model, but not necessarily accomplished as the end product.	Fitting the Child for the Stereotype of Schooling: The non-English speaking immigrant child comes to the second-culture classroom as a "tabula rasa". Existing teaching strategies can be relied upon to write all that is to be learned on the child's presumed empty slate in order to fit the stereotype of a knowing individual in the dominant culture.	A School Functioning Model: Structured use of the language of content (role) areas is the primary focus, with language to match the analogic communication demonstrated by this child supplied incidentally by the teacher.	A Maintenance-Transitional Model: Here the interpretation of the content area matter and social learning is initially encouraged in children's native language with their ethnic peers and through interpreters, parallel with Standard English structures modelled by native peers and teachers.

Figure x(a)

The Perceived Models of the General Structure of Educational Life in Schools B and C.

	Perceived Model of Social Accommodation In The Community In Which This School Exists	Perceived Model of Education In This School Context	Perceived Model Of Learning Theory In This Classroom	Model of Language Teaching (Standard English)	Model of Second Language Education.
School B	As in School A: Here, there is a high concentration of Native Canadian Indians and Spanish populations.	As in School A: With a greater focus on ensuring that the immigrant child is quickly assimilated into the dominant cultural values of the second culture through social learning.	Rote and Memorization: As in School A but even more reinforced by the process of rote and memorization which is presumed to guarantee that this child becomes a knowledgeable person.	Language Acquisition As Drill and Practice: Here, the requirement for this child to demonstrate structured use of the language of content areas and the language of social learning only are permitted as an absolute process during teacher scheduled knowledge disseminating time.	An Expeditious Transitional Model: Here, concepts and ideas of content areas and social learning is encouraged only through the mainstream Standard English as modelled audibly only by the teacher.
School C	As in Schools A and B: With the most positive influence of this model on the immigrant families. In this case, while the latter are the minority they are left to freely develop in their different ways, as well as to adopt with ease to dominant ways of the host community	As in School A: With the predominant emphasis being on fostering a balance between the rights of the ethnic minority group, the majority group and the individual in such a manner that allows a climate of respect for the rights of everyone as someone with contributions to make towards what has to be taught and learnt in a mutual process between teachers and children their previous experiences in teaching can there be successful learning.	A Dialogical Technique: Here, the acquisition and demonstration of knowledge is initially responded to as separate processes for this child and not as a simultaneous process. Only through a close interaction between this teacher and this child, many of the child's interests which demonstrate.	A Creative Discovery Process Which is Culturally Rule Governed: Here, incidental supply of language structures to match analogic communication and concepts deduced from this child's initiated activities. Structured language use strategy occurs only as a	A Maintenance - Transitional Model as in School A.

Figure x(b)

M. Analysis of the deeper level of the teaching-learning experience

When teachers reflected on their videotaped teaching episodes they perceived other factors as being more responsible for the frustrations which children esperienced at tasks. The factors perceived after reflection were:

- —— the kind of attitude which teachers demonstrate towards these children's language differences and cultural patterns of social behaviour which the teachers did not understand;
- —— the right kind of atmosphere in which children needed to feel their teachers walking in their shoes: that is, an empathic attitude.

Teachers acknowledged that children's language differences per se were not the most impeding factor in their learning. Rather, they suggested that while a common language use between teacher and children aids verbal communication and mutual understanding to some extent, the need for these children to feel an accepting attitude from their teachers seemed to set them at ease to be more open in their interactions with teachers and second culture peers. These children especially needed to experience an atmosphere permeated by a high degree of empathy. Videotapes revealed that when children felt that empathic attitude from teachers and their second culture peers, they responded to their environment as 'normal' children with the wonders, anger, fears and curiosity of children. The behaviours were originally developed in the children's original language and culture. When the feeling of empathy existed in a positive way it was as though teachers were "under their skins", feeling their fears and other emotions, accepting them for being just children with differences which were not 'problems' but alternative ways of responding to their new world. This type of atmosphere held more positive implications for successful learning as identified by teachers. For example, a greater initial focus could be placed on affective aspects of activity content for the new immigrant children. This would help to protect them in the socially sensitive situations of schooling which were created as a result of the additional ethnic dimensions of language, and cultural differences brought by these children. Through an atmosphere permeated by an empathic attitude a greater possibility seemed to exist whereby a trusting social bond and relationship could develop. Through the latter the children's existing self-esteem and their identity could be supported and enhanced towards positive ends. This could ensure a basis for their success in the academic experience and life in the multi-cultural classroom.

What resulted as a consequence of teachers' relative change of stereotyped presumptions was a greater awareness of these children's non-verbal behaviours with the second-culture children and the verbal responses which the latter matched with actions of the former as they worked cooperatively at teacher and/or self-initiated tasks. For example, Miss Chase relented from feeling frustrated about Tailan's and David's lack of ability to demonstrate mutual understanding after she discovered the results of learning through peer interaction. She declared,

> You know, I never really knew that I interacted with them any differently than the other kids --- but I do.
> I realized that I was trying to get them to do what I thought they should do. But those squiggly little letters (alphabets) and numbers (numerals) really mean nothing to them if they don't see the meaning --- you know.
>
> I watched his block (David's) building and I realized that I was learning more about him, his interests and what he could do. And believe me, the things he made in that area had to do with our trips and so on --- and were way, way more intricate and creative than what the other children were asked to produce.
> However, when I watched them with the other children, even my work got done without any problems.

Miss Chase realized from observing these children that learning occurred inspite of the differences which they possessed.

N. The Peer Group Interaction Mirror For Teachers Learning About The Non English Speaking Immigrant Children's Independent Learning

Both surface and deep level interpretation of the learning process revealed that the classroom experiences were completely incompatible with the lives of non-English-speaking-immigrant children. These experiences were nevertheless justified on the basis of the following two factors:

(1) a lack of understanding of students' culture and life styles; and

(2) the lack of knowledge of how the loss suffered by these children as a result of being uprooted from their own culture affected their motivation to learn.

The latter presumably generated a further obstacle in helping children to succeed at academic tasks. Teachers conceded that their lack of knowledge in the above areas of the children's lives caused them to lose sight of the importance of the relevance between the learning experiences and children's ethnicity and unique needs in a new culture. Consequently, that importance became obliterated. In turn, much teaching was spent on goals, other than responding appropriately to the basic human needs for developing higher levels of self-esteem and security and other psychological foundations on which to build success in the new classroom environment. The alternative was only possible through the matching these children's learning styles, concepts of activities and the relationship of those activities to their past experiences.

Each teacher tried very hard to explain that the manner in which she shaped the learning processes for the non-English-speaking-immigrant children was not intended to facilitate frustrations in learning. Nonetheless failure was unavoidable in most cases. In the cases of Schools A and C the lack of knowledge of how to utilize the human similarities of life which children brought to the classroom, seemed to be the result of a genuine lack of ability to respond to these children in a more positive and helpful way whereby they would experience success at teacher selected tasks. Each teacher repeatedly and openly acknowledged a personal pursuit for a "method" whereby they could better guarantee a less frustrating life for these children in the second culture classroom. They also craved a way to identify much earlier in the school year, some visible demonstrations of learning as they presumed it to be for the second culture children. In the absence of such proof of learning, teachers seemed only to console themselves when failures occurred, by resorting to blame on the previously mentioned factors. Teachers also acknowledged that in order to play it safe with regards to how their effectiveness was perceived by their administrators, they often found justification in ceasing to be overly concerned about whether non-English-speaking-immigrant children were progressing and turned their anxious concern towards the second culture children with whom communication seemed easier and learning was presumed guaranteed. In the meantime, teachers hoped that as soon as these children mastered the verbal communication structures of the language of instruction, then all the barriers to knowing about them, how they learn and how best to be with them would disappear. Videotapes disproved that presumption when teachers saw peer-task interactions between the immigrant and second-culture children. It was also presumed that when these seeming barriers disappeared children would have no problem in demonstrating mutual understanding intended by the teachers' talk and actions.

The implication of the above preferred attitude was that there was an absolute standard and mode of communication by which to view a knowing person or one who can learn successfully within an established mono-lingual system. However, reflections on videotaped teaching episodes in the cases of Misses Avery and Chase revealed that both original presumptions were, in fact only presumptions. They actually held no absolute truth in the case of the non-English-speaking-immigrant children. Rather, Misses Avery and Chase realized that even these children had to be viewed relative to the experiences which they had already acquired through their own language system and which shaped their unique cultural worlds and ways. Teachers also realized from peer tasks that there was not an absolute and single medium of communication which could facilitate mutual understanding. Rather, reflections revealed that while teachers considered lack of verbal communication in Standard English the primary problem in children's learning, the second culture children did not find this a problem in working with their peers. Instead, the latter seemed to transcend that barrier through focussing on each others' non-verbal modes of communication which complemented both foreign language and Standard English respectively.

Teachers identified that in the peer situation neither the second culture nor non-English-speaking children tended to separate the content of what was thought about, and engaged in, from the process of talking and doing. As it were, the children learnt from each other what was to be learnt (experience) and this became the process by which that learning occurred. Each learner acquired the new experience through the language with which they were most comfortable: their native languages. As such, teachers realized that second culture and immigrant children experienced successful acquisition of new knowledge in many ways, for example, through more than one mode of communication and through an ongoing high level of empathy and acceptance of what each contributed in the moment, in the context, and in their own unique way. As such, both categories of children experienced success from the utilization of their strengths and their secure confidence as individuals who provided valuable input to the learning context.

The basic ingredients for successful learning in the peer context therefore were,

--- using one's own heritage language to learn about the second culture content and langugage.

--- using multi-modal systems of communication, not as absolute ways to mutual understanding, but as systems which kept topic, concept and feelings in relation to each others' subjective experiences. These in turn became each others' inter-subjective experiences.

Teachers thereby realized that communication through verbal language and in Standard English was but only a tiny element in the whole field of interpersonal communication available to them to identify, not who the non-English-speaking-immigrant children were, or how they learnt, but what they were capable of in each given context for learning. Peer learning success thereby revealed to Misses Avery and Chase that it was more important to spend time facilitating a process of learning where the non-English-speaking-immigrant children are helped to survive each academic experience at each stage of completion by being flexible in the way they perceived time for learning. This seemed to produce more positive results at the peer level. The concern with the ability to learn if one had no facility in the language of instruction, Standard English, was the least of the problems in the successful learning situations.

The numerous successes which Misses Avery and Chase observed deriving from peer initiated tasks among the non-English-speaking-immigrant and second culture children caused teachers to acknowledge the following:

—— the former set of children were not deficient in cognitive ability because of their language differences. Instead most of the difficulties experienced were due to the manner in which the activities planned were construed and offered through a mono-lingual, mono-cultural perspective;

—— program activities from the latter perspective generated further problems as a result of the inflexibility of the education program to accommodate the ethnic and language differences.

Teachers viewed the acquisition of Standard English language skills as the only means which would eventually lead to the acquisition of academic skills. However, reflections revealed that through peer group tasks demonstrable successful academic understandings were filtered and acquired through each others' native language systems while the cognitive skills and parallel classroom language were seemingly being catalogued by the new children for use when they felt more secure to do so. For these teachers, language was no longer to be viewed in isolation from other factors which the children used for learning in the peer learning contexts. This observation put into question the program facts and the ways in which teachers were traditionally influenced to teach those facts. Teachers therefore realized that language differences and the acquisition of Standard English had to be viewed only a part of that matrix in which all other factors were interdependent. Further, it seemed more true that it was teachers' demands for children's use of the unfamiliar linguistic patterns to indicate their understanding of task requirements which put fears of being able to demonstrate potential for learning in these children. No child in a different environment with a different language system could respond as expected, or would respond to a teacher's questions when told, "Try to speak English.". There was no doubt that in the peer interaction, these children related to their tasks successfully, as a result of an atmosphere of total acceptance, respect for their native languages, and the ways of sharing understanding in the immediate context of the tasks, and not on the competencies which they were presumed not to have. Garcia, (1982) contributes that

> a student who feels accepted by peers, by teachers and by other important persons in the school and who feel(s) he belongs succeeds in a regular academic program. (p. 6)

Teachers' observations of peer task successes upheld the foregoing suggestion.

Teachers also observed other features of peer task success and gave new meaning to their perceptions of the differences which children brought to the classroom. For example, they observed that both the second culture children and the non-English-speaking-immigrant children demonstrated a positive attitude towards those differences. They did not dwell on them negatively but instead utilized them in conjunction with characteristics which were common to both groups in sharing their ideas. For example, children used gestures and actions which young children often use to make sure adults who know more understand what they intend to share. In this way children actually used differences and similarities in each other as the tools for learning anew, or for re-learning. In the peer group, children worked with what they had in the best way they could. They did not seem to wish that those differences were not there. Neither did they wish that their peers' differences would go away (as teachers indicated) before any successful learning could take place. They accomplished common task outcomes initially, although unawaringly by accepting those differences as the tools they had to work with.

A feeling of satisfaction was felt from this study just knowing that teachers were at least able to identify the alternative ways of creating the processes they shaped for the non-English-speaking-immigrant children. A more immediate reality which teachers demonstrated simultaneously with what they acknowledged as being "right" for the children to learn successfully was also evident. That reality was that sometimes what was believed, often produced great chances for survival than what was right. Here it was implied that although teachers recognized and acknowledged alternatives to their strategies, this did not necessarily mean that they could accommodate risks to their owm personal and professional well-being by implementing those alternatives without guarantees from administrators at all levels of the education system. Nevertheless, there was evidence of some measure of change in the rigidity with which teachers, especially Misses Avery and Chase, accommodated and responded to the non-English-speaking-immigrant children's initiated learning tasks. The following re-creation of a videotaped activity in Classroom A revealed, among other teacher changes, a different attitude as to what constitutes learning to what was originally held.

Classroom A: Child's Observation And Non-Verbal Interpretation Of A Teacher Organized Learning Activity

The Activity Activity: Paper Creative Craft: Making a Panda Bear

Background

The activity was one of the several teacher prepared follow-up activities in the unit on "Animals". Children and teacher paid a visit to the local zoo where they observed the animals. It was however, the teacher's choice to have children make the Panda Bear, as she had a paper pattern for this animal in her resources. There was no such animal at the zoo which they visited. The children's choice of a favorite animal was not considered.

Procedure

Miss Avery separated the native children from the non-English-speaking children. The purpose was to allow her to work directly in a small group with the former children in making their Bears, while the latter group initiated play activities which would hopefully be related to the visit to the zoo. The latter group also used unstructured materials such as blocks, pull-apart farm fences and houses, stuffed animals and dress-up clothing.

Development Of Activity

Throughout the teacher and child-initiated activities, Miss Avery was often in audible proximity to both groups of children. In this way she was able to observe children's actions and overhear their verbal contributions to their peer cooperation tasks.

She came to rely on the element of proximity to help the non-English-speaking-immigrant children learn the language structures which accompanied her actions with the second culture children with whom she worked directly. In this way Miss Avery identified and seemingly interpreted how closely the former children were relating the activity concepts to their play. She then chose to intervene by moving over to these children and suggesting in Standard English what they seemed to reveal through their actions.

The former children indicated with smiles, nods or by their own imperfect Standard English structures when Miss Avery was correct, for example, --- Yeh --- ahm

--- amhm --- ahmm --- pig(s) --- diggin --- ahm --- ahm --- there (points) foo food". (Merza, in her bid to show her piglets eating from a trough partially submerged in a pool of water). Children on the other hand, observed Miss Avery's actions and created their play, being influenced to some extent by those actions.

Through this reciprocal action and complementing language intervention, Miss Avery realized that when these children were allowed to construct their own learning even from the teacher-introduced concepts, she was not necessarily isolated from the learning which was occurring. Also, much more seemed to be learnt through the children's activities, rather than in the time spent worrying about what they could not learn.

Going with the children's lead definitely facilitated more success as seen in the learnings which Miss Avery recognized in the most recent Spanish-speaking addition to her classroom population. As Miss Avery worked directly with the second culture children, Merza observed her teacher's actions with the materials and second culture children. By the time Miss Avery's immediate activity began, Merza had assembled stuffed Panda's, dolls' food utensils, furniture and adult sized handbags and shoes to create her own activity.

The materials which were common to Merza's and her teacher's resources to complete the on-going activity was symbolic Panda Bears. In the former Merza had stuffed bears, while in the latter case the bears were of paper and popcorn glued with melted marshmallows (the children ate their popcorn animals at the end of their activity). The following scenario demonstrates Merza's independent learning from the non-verbal actions of her teacher's supervised activity with second culture children. Merza's cultural clues suggested her level of understanding.

PAGE 217 HAS BEEN REMOVED. THE PRINT QUALITY OF THIS PAGE IS TOO POOR FOR MICROFILMING AND CANNOT BE REPRODUCED.

THIS PAGE CONTAINED FIGURE XI-MERZA'S PANDA BEAR ACTIVITY: MAKING MEANING FROM THE TEACHER'S NON-VERBAL TEACHING.

O. The Emotional And Psychological Insecurities Created By Teaching The Non-English-Speaking Child

In addition to the interpretations which the principal participants gave to the factors which influenced the shaping of their teaching processes for learning, a more personal meaning of the experience of teaching non-English-speaking-immigrant children was shared through very interesting metaphors. For example, that the experience is,

--- "like running into a brick wall" (Misses Avery and Chase, June, 1984).
--- "to feel like the minority -- not being in control" (Miss Avery; June, 1984).
--- "to always seem to be in a fighting state with one's self instead of them" (Miss Chase; June, 1984).
--- "like being forced to be a good host to visitors --- only they won't go away (Misses Belle and Chase; June, 1984).

The most common description of the experience by all teachers was that it was perceived as "running into a brick wall" (Teacher Inetrviews; June, 1984). The rationale for this description resulted from the traditional and most obvious absence of demonstrable proof of children's ability to communicate in the language of instruction. The children per se did not create this feeling in teachers as much as their seeming obsession with the prediction that if these children had no facility in the language of instruction, then that would undoubtedly cause them to fail in the system. Their pre-occupation with the idea suggested that if these children acquired the language of instruction and became fluent in its use, success may be better guaranteed. As it were, they perceived children's acquisition of the second language only for getting tasks done in the classroom and not as a tool for understanding life in the new environment. When teachers found that being overly concerned about the children's labour for second language acquisition, it seemed as though the way to the defined children's minds was impenetrable by their Standard English structures. This revived all sorts of traditional ways of perceiving those who seemed different to the norms which are created by those who share the teacher's world. Consequently, what was described as a "brick wall" really represented teachers' inability to experience teaching to meet the needs which the additional multi-cultural dimension brought to their classrooms. Teaching in the usual manner as in teaching the second culture children was inadequate. Teachers themselves seemed to have partly created the experience in the manner described, primarily because they seemed to have ignored the fact that communicative fluency is only as good as the relative value of its appropriateness to the given contexts in which it has to occur. To acquire and use the language of instruction was perceived as a process of rules. Viewed in this way from the beginning of the teaching-learning relationship only set in motion negative connotations about the defined children and their ability to learn. In turn teachers perceived the general situation initially as hopeless and impenetrable. The teachers' only hope for any positive change in this experience was to acknowledge and endorse the fact that for people who do not speak the same language, a lot of tolerance, time and empathy is required as the basis for sharing mutual understanding in the multi-cultural, or any other context. Although this was acknowledged when teachers seemed forced to demonstrate that they endorsed the fact, the feeling of "running into that brick wall" was compounded. This seemed to lead to another description of this experience, a feeling of being a minority among even as little as two children whose language was different to their teachers'.

To the teachers involved, being a teacher of children needed to produce a feeling of being in control. In the context of their professional experience that control was missing. In its place was a continuous feeling that the children, through their differences seemed to control teachers. For example, in the way they should feel and be towards the former, when perhaps they had no wish to do so. However, lest their alternative ways of being with these children would be construed differently, they often felt forced to allow the presumed appropriate behaviours and/or responses to children's differences control their ways of being with them. This gave teachers reason to perceive children to be in charge of the teaching-learning context, rather than the other way round. Unfortunately, this reality was perceived negatively.

This description of this experience demonstrated that the teachers involved still perceived their operational contexts in a traditional manner. That is, it was still felt that only when teachers owned the interaction, the time, the space and the ideas which composed what was defined as knowledge, was learning possible. In these teachers' case, they could not seem to own the context in which non-English-speaking-immigrant children came to know anything, even when teachers initiated what was to be known. There was no way for them to perceive their being in control, since they did not seem to own the talk which these children carried on in their native language. The teachers consequently felt like "a minority": being consistent with not being in control. This feeling was more compounded when teachers realized that the second culture children seemed to understand something more than they did about reaching the minds of the former group of children. This seeming threat to the presumed exclusiveness of the teachers' traditional role of "calling the shots" (Miss Avery; Teacher Interview; June, 1984) created a greater tension in an already asymmetrical relationship. Teachers often found themselves trying to deal with that tense relationship in one of two ways. Teachers either made the decision to "leave them (the defined children) alone for the earliest part of the year", as long as they did not make any trouble" (Miss Chase; Teacher Interview; November, 1983). Or, teachers attempted to "stick with these children", drilling them in concepts which were evaluated at the end of the school year. Meanwhile they assumed that the second culture children in the classroom could be allowed to be on their own in activity centres to pursue their own learning and there would be no problem as to what these children should know for their test at the end of the school year.

Implied in this assumption was the feeling that since the second culture children were presumed to have acquired the basis of social learning and concepts of literacy, then it would be expected that the home would have established those pre-requisites. Unfortunately, the teachers' feeling of not being in control was even more compounded when their assumption was disproved, for even the second culture children fell below evaluation expectations at the end of the school year. Also, long after they had "stuck" with the new children and left the former group on their own, they discovered that whatever facility these children developed in the use of classroom language, and their knowledge of concepts it did not mean that they would succeed in passing the end of the year test and be promoted to Grade I. This discovery only resulted in teachers organizing a literal "race" for these children to learn what needed to be known. This attitude consequently resulted in children being put through a learning process with a profound cognitive focus, thereby overlooking the need for an equal focus on the social-emotional component of learning, more especially necessary for the new children. One teacher expressed her justification of this option in the following manner:

> When all is said and done, it's the test which counts, or else they would not survive in Grade I. I'd love to give them more enrichment things to do, but the Grade I teacher would have the Department breathing down her back if she had to retain too many of them in her class. It's better if they are kept back here, even though their parents don't always agree for them to be kept back. (Miss Avery; Teacher Interview; June, 1984)

Such options often forced teachers into a constant emotional battle with themselves as they constantly perceived the relationship with the new children as an "I-Them" one, where the focus of concern was on the "I", meaning the teachers.

The essence of the focus was not the same as teachers being the 'catalyst' of a process which facilitated success for the new children. Rather, the "I" seemed cast in a feeling of being the only ones who could re-create the little adults who had suddenly found themselves in a situation equivalent to displacement in the multicultural classroom. It was as though teachers could create a new way of being in the second culture for these children in one short school year. on However, teachers realized that even when the non-English-speaking-immigrant children were pressured to adopt the language of the classroom that did not make learning any easier, especially when that learning seemed enforced upon these children.

Teachers consequently experienced an on-going fight with themselves as to whether it was worthwhile to subject children to conforming to the new values and norms through the pre-designed activities offered in their learning processes, when this did not seem to be the effective thing to do. However, because of the temporal and administrative constraints placed on teachers, what the learning process had to be took precedence over what it should be. They had to convince themselves that these children's learning depended on them and the processes for learning which they created.

Miss Belle put this view in the following way:

> I know I'm not perfect, but somehow I cannot move on to anything I have to do with them if they're not attending to me. They know that I have two ears but I can only listen to one person at a time. When they are all quiet that's the only way they can learn to listen. I believe that in group situations one has to learn to modify his/her behaviour and in tasks as well. My children know exactly how I expect them to behave and work. I push them to do better because they can. They need boundaries which would make them succeed eventually. (Miss Belle --- Teacher Interview; November, 1983)

Teachers ensured that they always came out of their conflicts with more reasons to justify the experiences through which they put the new children, in a way which suggested that such options were best for everyone.

As long as teachers continued to treat the teaching-learning interaction as an "I-Them" experience they responded to these children as "visitors" in their care. Teachers were the 'hosts'. As 'visitors', these children were expected to try to "fit into the way" things were done in a host's context. This rationale however, seemed to limit the reasons for teachers to acknowledge one most important factor in the processes they created for these children's academic success. That is, as long as Canada remains a country receiving immigrants children of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds will not be leaving in the sense that visitors do. They will continue to be in the classrooms. As society becomes more complex for humans to experience their potential, avoiding this fact may result in a waste of opportunity to help these different children to see themselves not as Orientals, Asians or West Indians only, but mainly as human beings with resources to contribute towards a mutual understanding and an enriching second culture experience.

Carpenter and Torney (1974) summarize Piaget's support for understanding and acknowledging the need to accept and build on this diversity of cultures. Piaget has noted that

> the major thrust of cognitive development is realized when one comes into contact with ideas or experience that challenge one's present way of viewing the world. Information gained from the environment conflicts with the child's existing ideas, resulting in an accommodation of these schemes. In this manner, exposure to cultures other than one's own, are assets in continuous personal growth.
>
> When children have gained an understanding of a universal idea, they can be helped to recognize it not only in one expression but in its many different exemplifications. (p. 18)

As teachers described their experience of teaching non-English-speaking-immigrant children from a "host-visitor" perspective it was quite clear that the numerous difficulties which arose out of this relationship for teachers and children, were due to teachers' inability to endorse the diverse cultural backgrounds and different needs and requirements of these children in their multi-cultural classrooms. It was also clear that if this diversity of both cultural and linguistic backgrounds was perceived beyond the "melting pot", or mono-cultural way of perceiving it, then teachers may find that the question of their traditional expectations may have conditioned the manner in which they experienced their relationship with these children. Since the teachers' perceptions of the teaching-learning experience seemed to originate in the former way of seeing, the differences which children brought to the classroom were more the focus of attention than how teachers could use those differences towards a more positive life experience and learning ends in these classrooms. Some evidence exists that teachers allowed their traditional and/or stereotypical manner of shaping life in this learning context to create the negativity which they experienced from the teaching-learning relationship.

Example 1. Classroom A

Context:

Miss Avery gathered all new non-English-speaking children into the coat room to conduct a listening and worksheet activity on the theme --- Transportation.

Concept: Getting from one place to another by air transportation.

Purpose Of The Activity

To have the non-English-speaking-immigrant children listen to a male narrator tell the story of two children aetting out with the father to drive to the airport to watch the aeroplanes take off and land.

Procedure

Each child was equipped with work sheets as in Appendix E , and a pencil. As each segment of the taped story was played, the narrator then gave instructions and questions to be answered through children placing a tick ( ) on the correct picture on the worksheet.

Throughout that activity, Miss Avery found it necessary to repeat all questions asked by the narrator, as well as to point out to all but one child, Ana, what pictures needed to be ticked off.

The result of this activity was viewed as the completion of an auditory discrimination exercise.

Analysis of the activity: the unstated meaning to children

Later, teacher-researcher analysis of the activity revealed that much more was asked of these children who were supposedly unable to comprehend basic verbal instructions given by teachers. It was acknowledged that this activity also asked the following of the children:

- How well could children listen to and recall basic facts and main ideas?
- How well could children transfer that information from a short term memory to symbols, then on to their worksheet, and then switch into a process of visual discrimination to match their auditory information, and then indicate that association by marking the appropriate symbol?
- How good were these children at retaining, retrieving and associating subsequent information narrated in order to continue the two foregoing aspects of the activity?
- Finally, which child/ren could complete the activity within the given time?

Having observed what seemed to be an extra effort by this teacher to almost complete the activity for all but one child, further analysis was focussed on whether or not Miss Avery had realized her activity goals. Miss Avery conceeded that she did not necessarily achieve her goal as she had to help children get through the activity. She also blamed her inability to realize her goal on the limited time constraint in which the activity had to be done. But it was she who set that time limit.

As the researcher observed the development of this activity it was evident that Miss Avery completely missed a golden opportunity to make the concept of Transportation understood in the context of the lives of the children who lived a more real experience of this concept. That is, the nine children who shared this activity were "Boat People": people who escaped from their war-torn countries by fishing boats across wide expanses of water, and later used vehicular and air transportation to get to Canada. This aspect of these children's experiential backgrounds was completely missed. As a result, a concept which was more meaningful to their lives than the activity presented, was introduced and developed through experiences unrelated to them and through a voice and language foreign to them.

When Miss Avery's attention was drawn to the above, her observations of the delivery strategies suggested that she missed a very practical aspect of minimizing the irrelevant and/or unnecessary content by beginning with the children's experiences on the topics, and following the children's leads for elaborating on the ideas which emerged. Pre-defined facts about universal concepts, and pre-designed approaches to sharing them with children merely facilitated the problematic manner in which the teaching-learning experience was perceived. While observation on what Miss Avery had missed was acknowledged, she nevertheless tried to justify her method by blaming any source other than that which pointed to her approach as the cause of failure of the activity. She expressed this blame in the following way.

> Look, Shirley, these children, let's face it, they're not going to make it very far in this system if they don't listen and speak the language. That's the only way they would understand (meaning to listen to, e.g., the narrator's voice). When I do an activity like that, it's like training them to listen to instructions 'cause that's what they'll have to do in Grade I. But it has to be done. That's the seventh such activity among a set. Anna, I have no problems with because she understands the language (Anna is tri-lingual since arriving in Canada, having been forced to live sixteen hours on her own among English-speaking and Vietnamese neighbours while her single parent mother worked at two jobs).
> I suppose it's a waste of time but that's why I take them into the cloak room as I can get them to listen and attend to what's going on (meaning --- to listen to the narrator --- regardless of children's interest, or lack of it).
> They've got to do something if they're going to survive Grade I. (Miss Avery; November, 1983)

In the foregoing example, this teacher completely missed the importance of using children's past experiences as a bridge to connect an alternative approach of looking at a global concept --- Transportation. Rather, the obsession with what and how this should be taught for later understanding in Grade I, another place in another time, was of greater concern. Such wasted concerns no doubt facilitated the frustrations which teachers experienced in their relationship with the non-English-speaking-immigrant children. This attitude was further exemplified in the following.

Example 2: Classroom B

Context

Miss Belle was trying to instruct Lee, the Spanish-speaking child, to colour, cut and glue a bunch of ballons in a teacher selected worksheet.

The Purpose Of The Activity

--- To have children follow the steps dictated by teacher in order to complete the activity in a pre-determined and uniform way.

— To shade the balloons in colours specified by Miss Belle.

The Procedure

Lee, like other children was given about a three minute lecture on the steps and procedures for completing the activity, as the teacher held up her completed example of the activity for all to see. When her instructions were completed the children were expected to proceed and color their pictures.

Unfortunately, Lee is the type of child who needed to have actions supplemented by verbal intervention at each step, and vice versa. His teacher had given the instructions; now he had to follow them. So Lee tried to look at his peers from the opposite side of the project table as they completed their projects. Viewing the colouring from the opposite side of the table resulted in his reversing the order in which colours were to be placed in the balloons. He also cut his objects from the opposite side of his paper.

When Miss Belle realized this she became hysterical and ventured to give Lee the complete three minutes instructions once again as she simultaneously reclaimed his almost completed project and replaced it with a new basic page. At the end of this second set of instructions she asked, "Do you understand now?" Lee shook his head and replied "Yes". Unfortunately, Lee again sought the help of his peers from across the table. Once again his project was completed in the reverse to the teacher's expectations.

At this point Miss Belle took Lee's project away and suggested to him that he could not follow Standard English instructions yet. She continued,

> Lee, you have to try to understand, or else what's going to happen to you?

During our after-session discussion Miss Belle volunteered to initiate the direction and content as she said,

> See how Lee has a hard time understanding anything. I'm really sorry for him because he has reached a plateau in his learning. They've spoiled him at home because they don't speak to him in English. So --- when he leaves here whatever he's understood he forgets when he gets back with them.
>
> He's not going to go any further if they don't speak in English to him. His mother speaks English very well, but I don't know why they don't insist that he use English at home.

On reflecting on Lee's performance by the end of the academic year, Miss Belle once again volunteered to enquire whether I had noticed that Lee was "holding his own" in the classroom. She summed up that 'mysterious' progress in the following way;

> He's now talking on his own,
> asking questions and doing pretty well as some of the regular children.

When asked what might have been the factors which helped Lee to develop the competencies he demonstrated at this time, she replied,

> Me, --- I guess!
> I never let up on him because I knew he could speak English if I stuck behind him.

In this learning context, there seemed to be no visible concern for the whys about Lee completing his project in the way he did. For example, his need for verbal intervention to extend his comprehension as demonstrated by his actions on each specific step of the project; his proximity to other children who were progressing at a faster rate than he was at the project; and/or his inability to accommodate and translate a great amount of verbal instructions into sequential actions as prescribed by the teacher. The teacher's immediate concern for his failure was his inability to comprehend Standard English instructions since Lee himself did not produce this language. However, there was no hesitation to assume that Lee's later demonstrable progress, perceived as expectations for Grade I, was directly related to the teacher's role.

Not speaking Standard English was the big problem, which only had to be 'fixed' by the teacher.

Example 3: Classroom C

In the case of Miss Chase, the anxiety about Japanese Lakej's not speaking Standard English was least evident. However, as a significant four months of non-verbal signals of communication went by Miss Chase became resigned to the fact that he may not achieve as much as if they both verbalized in a mutual context. This attitude of being resigned to the given in this child as a problem was so convincing that Miss Chase responded in shock when some time later Lakaj first volunteered to share in perfect sentence construction and appropriateness to the activity context, ---
"My dad and I went skating this weekend."
Miss Chase's first response was an excited outburst of laughter. Next, she responded
"My gosh --- Lakaj you spoke!"
"Could you tell us that again?"
Lakaj responded --- but very shyly and in a less excited tone "My dad and I went skating this weekend."
Miss Chase continued, "Oh, Boy! That's great"

If the focus of the teacher's concerns were to be watched, it would be correctly placed on the fact that how Lakaj said what he experienced was more an achievement in the teacher's perception than the experience itself. This could be validated by the continued observation which Miss Chase, made in the following way:

> Ever since that he has never thought twice before communicating in English. He's never stopped talking since.

In this situation the importance of Lakaj's demonstration of being able to speak English overshadowed the sharing of the experience which was reported. The security which Lakaj demonstrated in order to share his experience in the accepted communication mode was missed. However, from then on, Lakaj was perceived differently by his teacher. He would be able to learn --- because he spoke the language of the classroom.

Miss Avery, more than the other teachers, endorsed the fact that it required much more than the children's ability to speak the language of the classroom to be a knowing person, as she discovered from Merza whom she engaged in an entry test on her arrival at school. It will be remembered that Merza is Spanish speaking and used no English on her arrival at her new learning environment. was amazed to discover that in testing all the recent admissions to her class, Merza via her Spanish Sixth Grade interpreter responded appropriately to all test items. Miss Avery observed and endorsed the fact that this child's performance was not based on her ability to speak Standard English, since she had only been exposed for two days to the influence of the classroom. Merza had acquired the concepts relative to the test items in her own native language. Miss Avery acknowledged the discovery in the following way,

> It's really not a problem as such --- their language I mean, when you really look closely at what's happenning in the tapes at what they're doing. They understood more than you can really see. So they must understand the language I speak or they just deduce from actions --- so they can understand what the answers are.
> I guess you just have to go with the child's activities and non-verbal actions and work from there --- uhmm --- but it's this system ... (Teacher Interview; May, 1984)

Merza entered the classroom at the point where Miss Avery had just begun to come to terms with the new perceptions she expressed in the foregoing. As such Merza was allowed to chart her own interpretations of learning through the teacher's and peers' actions. On these she built similar, as well as alternative activities, relevant to the concepts dealt with. Simultaneously Merza seemed to be cataloguing the parallel Standard English structures to her Spanish structures. The latter laid the groundwork for subsequent use of the desired English structure for other concepts when she felt secure enough to use these. As such, Merza's security in her own approach to affecting the environment for her personal learning, the recognized acceptance of her need for time given by her teacher, and her autonomy in shaping the directions in which she would take classroom concepts accelerated responses which were desired by Miss Avery in a shorter period. Teacher talk and action intervention were given when Merza's play/actions indicated a need for them. In this way the experience between Miss Avery and Merza was less tense, less demanding in terms of the desired type of verbal responses and teacher controlled ends in activities. Having observed Merza from a different perspective, Miss Avery could not lay blame on Merza's language and cultural differences for the nature of her learning behaviours.

P. Summary

An analysis of the data which represented the surface level observation of the teaching-learning contexts for the non-English-speaking-immigrant children indicated that the factors which most impeded success for these children in the mono-lingual school programs were:

a) the children's language differences;

b) the insufficient time period for these children to unlearn their own language and then learn school concepts through Standard English;

c) the presumtion that these children do not have the cognitive preparation to learn second culture school concepts successfully, and

d) a presumption that parents fail to motivate their children to become interested in school concepts.

The foregoing factors and the meanings which they gave to the life experiences in the multicultural classroom contexts were generated by those closest to these children: the kindergarten teachers who shaped the initial phase of the experience for these children.

After reflecting on the experience, the three kindergarten teachers suggested that children's language differences were only a minimal factor in impeding their success. The factors which seemed to facilitate success were identified as,

a) teachers demonstrating an attitude of acceptance of children's differences and demonstrating an endorsement of those differences in relevant learning experiences which filled the unique needs which these children had;

b) a high degree of empathy for the affective more than the cognitive needs which these children had;

c) knowledge of the backgrounds of these children's original cultures in order to bridge the gaps between where they came from and how best to help them to cope in the new culture;

d) modification of the school programs to meet each non-English-speaking-immigrant child as a unique person with unique needs in the second culture context.

Grade I and E.S.L. teachers who were incorporated into this investigation also acknowledged the foregoing factors also as those which could facilitate a successful life for non-English-speaking-immigrant children. However, only those Grade I and E.S.L. teachers who had their origin in a minority culture endorsed the foregoing factors in their teaching practices. They suggested that an attitude of willingness to adapt the learning environment to the needs of these children and not the other way round was the key to a more rewarding life for all in the multicultural classroom context.

At a higher level, principals and E.P.S.B. administrators acknowledged the factors generated by all teachers. However, they stressed that teachers can only be as flexible as the rest of the education system allowed them to be, without calling into question their teaching effectiveness. At this level it was also suggested that teachers could only be as effective as the institutions which prepared them to teach and to deal with the populations represented in their classrooms. They were convinced that existing teacher education institutions have not kept abreast with the needs of the potential practicing teacher to cope with the multicultural dimension in all schools. As such teachers can only do their best with what the professional competencies they relied on for successful teaching in past years of experience.

At this level administrators suggested teachers lacked an understanding of the manner in which non-English-speaking-immigrant children's differences were to be accommodated and responded to, in order to develop a positive image of themselves in the second culture. Administartors also suggested that teachers lacked the knowledge of how to use and incorporate those differences into mono-cultural concepts and how to help these children communicate understanding through other than verbal modes. They also suggested that not knowing about these children, as against knowing of them, created many frustrations in shaping the learning process.

Since their teaching effectiveness would be called into question when many failures occurred, teachers resorted to traditional approaches to shaping that process, even if it looked like "force feeding" these children with a process of quick assimilation into the way of life of the second culture.

The latter created many personal conflicts for teachers. For example, different expectations, activities and behaviours by Grade I teachers forced them to make decisions about shaping life in the classroom as how this had to be, as against how it should be in appropriateness to the rest of the children's lives. Such conflicts were blamed as the source of the knowledge-transmitting role which teachers assumed, instead of the role of acting as catalysts to facilitate ways whereby learning the second culture concepts would be a less pressured experience in the life of these children.

Although teachers acknowledged the foregoing alternative ways has a better model for facilitating a life experience of more quality for non-English-speaking immigrant children in the multicultural classroom, these were nonetheless perceived as high-risk chances. Since teachers felt more secure in the option of using their traditional approaches to shaping their learning processes, they could only describe the meaning of their experience in metaphors which indicated such negativity. Such metaphors were for example, that the experience is like, "running into a brick wall"; "it is like playing 'hosts' and 'visitors'."

It was generally suggested that even if the kindergarten teachers changed their perceptions of the life they shaped, they still perceived the modification as only a single unit of change in the entire education system. This would have little effect on the rest of children's educational experience in the system. The learning process would therefore continue to be viewed as one which had to benefit children at another time and another place. Teachers suggested that modifications in the processes of life in their classrooms as an on-going effort would take place only when change was evident at all levels of the education system.

The teachers acknowledged that more than the ability to demonstrate the use of Standard English is needed if non-English-speaking-immigrant children are to experience success and survival in the mono-lingual, second culture education system. The need to feel secure in what these children already know and understand was necessary before attempting to understand the unknown. They also need to feel accepted in the new context.Acceptance does not just happen by chance but through a deliberate effort to nurture it through the content and process of the program. The foregoing were acknowledged as being necessary if both teachers and the new children are to experience a quality life experience and function more competently in affecting each other's lives positively in the multicultural classroom.

Q. Summary

In each of the classrooms discussed, the politicising of the education process was clearly demonstrated as teachers tried to explain the irrelevant and inappropriate teaching strategies and program content through the following:

a) they were not professionally equipped to accomodate and utilise the cultural and linguistic differences which the children from different ethno-cultures brought to their classrooms.

b) they were sympathetic with the identity crises which these children experienced in the traditional second-culture education process. However, they were also being honest to look after their own career interest while their administrators determined whether to document policies which would indicate their unwavering support for the adaptation of the education process to empower non-English-speaking immigrant children to develop totally and competently in the second-culture environment of the classroom and society. To date policy statements concerning the pragmatics of adapting such educational process to meet the needs of different ethnocultural groups are only "implicit" in general political documentation (Final Report of the Committee on Tolerance and Understanding, 1984). As a result, the interpretation of what each teacher's role should be in teaching the children from such groups is left to factors which s/he perceives as influencing her/his greater good.

Each teacher however acknowledged that the difficult life which they share with non-English-speaking immigrant children are not the fault of the inability of the latter to speak Standard English. Rather, the teachers' inability to utilize the way these children use their heritage language and world knowledge to bridge the gaps between their world and the new impeded a better quality of learning experience for teachers and children.

VII. SUMMARY, GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It was hoped that through this study an attempt would be made to better understand the experience of teachers from English-speaking backgrounds who shape the teaching-learning process for non-English-speaking immigrant children. The influence and meaning of those factors which enhance, and/or impede the development of the children's human potential for learning second-culture concepts would be discussed as they affect life for both teachers and children in the classroom.

The focus of the study was therefore on the following three areas of life in multi-cultural classrooms:

1) an observation and analysis of the language of teaching (teachers' talk) used to share information with the non-English-speaking immigrant children to help them construct the realities, for example, concepts, values, and norms, in the second-language classroom.
2) an observation and analysis of the dialogue (that is, the verbal and non-verbal communication) among teachers and children. This would help to determine teachers' awareness and understanding about the need for non-English-speaking immigrant children to share their alternative perspectives of concepts, values and other realities as a bridge-building strategy towards learning the realities of a second-culture classroom;
3) an analysis of those factors which the principal participants (three teachers of English-speaking backgrounds) identified as most influential in shaping their personal methodologies for shaping their teaching-learning processes for non-English-speaking immigrant children.

A. Final overview of the study

Life in the three kindergarten multi-cultural classrooms which included non-English-speaking immigrant children abounded with professional and personal inconsistencies for administrators, principals, teachers and children. The teachers explained these characteristics in terms of their inability to understand and utilize the language and cultural diversities which non-English-speaking immigrant children bring to their classrooms. The consequence of these teachers' inability is that they resorted to teaching both non-English-speaking immigrant children and their second culture peers in the normal traditional way. In this approach to teaching, the children's linguistic competence with regard to academic content is the primary criterion for success in learning. In each of the three classrooms, the approach of teaching all children in only one way facilitated a breakdown in the positive quality of life which could be offered. This is primarily because teachers did not seem equipped to bridge the differences brought by them and non-English-speaking immigrant children to the relationship of being with, and affecting each other's presence in the teaching and learning process. Through the normal teaching as-usual approach to creating a life for all children, regardless of their language and cultural needs, there was little shared conception of what was to be learnt, how best it could be learnt, and when children could accommodate that knowledge. As such, the major portion of daily life in those classrooms was shaped through teaching which addressed the purposes and meanings of that life from the teachers' perspectives. Those perspectives focussed on what was best for teachers getting through each day with the least stress and with the confidence that they were in control of what went on in their classrooms. Teachers justified their use of a familiar way of shaping the life in the classroom since they believed that they would be evaluated as ineffective teachers if they modified their normal teaching procedures to suit second-culture children in order to accommodate the needs of non-English-speaking immigrant children.

Life for the above children is therefore moulded by the teachers' preferences for the language type, the type of academic content and the social conventions which help these teachers to achieve what they traditionally know as teacher effectiveness. Teachers' preferences serve only to hinder themselves from responding to the unique needs for security, safety and the nurturing of the self-esteem of non-English-speaking immigrant children have. As such, life goes on as if those needs did not exist. This was evidenced in the teachers' insistence on retaining their prescribed second culture curricula, which focus on the development of testable skills at the end of the academic school year. There was a greater wish to embrace the perspective of teaching as a purely English-speaking linguistic process in spite of the children's inability to grasp the second culture understandings which teachers intended to share through that process. The latter took precedence over the importance of using more time to learn how these children go about making those understandings their own through their own language and cultural learning styles.

Life for non-English-speaking immigrant children in the three second culture classrooms is analagous to that of newborn children in their environment. For children, learning to demonstrate appropriate non-verbal and verbal behaviours in their interactions with their significant Others is required in the second culture learning environment. The difference between a newborn in his/her heritage environment is that in the former situation the child is given time for the natural development of those appropriate behaviours according to his/her stage of human development. Unfortunately, in the three kindergarten classrooms, such time was not available to non-English-speaking immigrant children. This was primarily due to their teachers' relentless struggle to create a homogenous life teaching and learning for all children.

The effects of this struggle placed demands on the children which constantly produced a tense climate for learning how to become adept in the second culture mileu. These demands resulted in a life filled with contradictions within the teachers' pedagogy and the human development of these children.

Some of the contradictions evidenced by the verbal and non-verbal forms of face-to-face interactions which involved teachers and children were as follows:

Each teacher acknowledged that to ignore the unique needs of the non-English-speaking immigrant children contradicted how children learn best: That is, by using past familiar experiences to learn new ones; by moving from ideas which are common among individuals to those which are different; and by moving from concrete to abstract learning. Yet each teacher justified a uniform approach to teaching and the presentation of second-culture definitions of curricula for these children and their second-culture peers.

Each teacher acknowledged that life-as-usual for all children in their classrooms placed limits on the extent to which teachers could help the non-English-speaking immigrant children develop their potential to learn through other-than-linguistic modes. Yet each justified her existing learning environment as the way things had to be since any changes for the children's benefit were not totally supported by all levels of administration. These are the people who evaluate their competence in the classroom. Any attempt to modify the life in those classrooms therefore implied negative risks to ensuring the security of their jobs. The teachers' survival rested upon the number of promotions made at the end of the year from Kindergarten to grade one. Teaching and promotion were therefore primarily geared towards children's academic competence rather than nurturing socially adjusted persons capable of becoming more and more adept in every aspect of the second-culture mileu.

There were thus contradictions between what teachers believed the process of education should be, and what it had to be for non-English-speaking immigrant children. This reinforced a life of illusion for teachers that an equal exposure of all children to the same patterns of interactions and the same mode of sharing ideas would result in an equal chance of success under the evaluative measures used to define a competent, successful student. As a result of this on-going illusion, teachers at every stage of this study identified superficial characteristics as the causal sources of the difficulties or failures which non-English-speaking immigrant children experienced in the life in their classrooms. Such factors included children's language differences, the children's seeming lack of pre-requisites for accommodating second culture concepts, and of concepts relevant to those of the second culture academic program.

After teachers reflected on the videotaped aspects of life in their classrooms, they acknowledged that those superficial factors per se were not the primary cause for the difficulties children experienced at learning. Rather, teachers responded to those factors, which were merely differences, in a manner which only served to reinforce a teaching-learning process which was geared to encourage these children to fit the stereotypes of learners in the second culture. The attitude which teachers demonstrated through their verbal and non-verbal face-to-face interactions only perpetuated a definition of teachers as 'Us' and the non-English-speaking immigrant children as 'Them', rather than one which nurtured the perception of that relationship as 'We' in the classroom life. In the former relationship children were expected to keep up with the pace of learning of their second culture peers inspite of the odds with which they started in that life.

While the three kindergarten teachers in this study verbalized very good intentions to help non-English-speaking immigrant children survive life in the second language classrooms, more than good intentions were definitely required to ensure that fewer frustrations for teachers and children were experienced. Good intentions needed to be consistent with the teachers' practice if the claim of providing a quality and effective education process for non-English-speaking immigrant children was to be made. This lack of a significant presence of the consistency between good intentions and the teachers' practice holds many crucial implications for education and life in general for all significant Others responsible for the education of these children in the second culture, multi-cultural classroom.

B. General Conclusions

Although the language and cultural barriers initially eliminated any possibility of teachers and non-English-speaking immigrant children establishing a mutual basis for understanding and sharing life and learning in the second culture classroom, teachers insisted on retaining their preference in treating teaching primarily as a linguistic process set in Standard English. The notion of intersubjectivity was recognized only as far as the physical presence of the children was concerned. The need to establish a curriculum-building approach with a partnership of what parents know first hand about their children, and what teachers know professionally of child development is overlooked in the lecture-like approach to teaching. During the initial three months of the school year when non-English-speaking immigrant children enter the second culture classroom there is a noticeable lack of verbal communication. These children perceive and adopt aspects of this new learning environment through every non-verbal mode of communication. These forms of non-verbal communication are also missed in the teachers' curriculum and pedagogical developmental approaches since the teachers are constantly pre-occupied with how soon each of these children will speak Standard English.

The teachers overlooked non-verbal and other cultural clues which could be used to create more positive and relevant life experiences in their classrooms primarily because of their own teacher preparation experiences. The latter equipped them to focus on the linguistic aspects of teaching and learning as being the most valid proof of having taught, and children having learnt.

The basic interactive pattern which supports the perceived proof of learning reflects that teachers give information and children reproduce this in their constructive tasks, or on their *worksheets*. Teachers finally validate the teaching, and/or learning by having children answer questions based on the tasks, verbally, and as exactly as the facts or information was given.

Curriculum continued to be the same for all children, regardless of the different cognitive references which the minority children held for the ideas and concepts which were intended to be learnt.

There was an obvious teacher behaviour of acceptance-rejection of certain knowledge which confirmed that teachers held an on-going dialectical view between the validity of knowledge which was gained from teacher-initiated learning activities *vs* knowledge gained from child-initiated and/or out-of-school-learning activities. For example, field trips were the vehicle for acquainting children with their school communities. On their return to the classrooms, the culminating activities which teachers engaged children in, in order to identify what was learnt from the trips, included drawing, sand-play, block-building and/or drama. During the block-building and drawing activities especially, the Oriental children particularly drew symbols and scenes which related to their homes and family activities during the first four months of the school year.

There was nothing which teachers could recognize as being related to the field trips per se. However, within those personal illustrations lay the cultural representations of these children's concrete experiences in comparable, but heritage community settings. Their illustrations were misinterpreted as being quite off-task. Teachers were unable to use the responses to draw a parallel between what the children recalled of their own responses and what they had seen in the present experiences on their field trips, but could not yet separate from their own frames of references. This lack of teachers' understanding was therefore remedied by teachers supplying every child with the basic paper cut-out of a house, an animal, the farmer, the fruit, as each corresponded to the scene that was visited. Children were then advised to colour, or build on that basic pattern according to the teachers' instructions. From here on the products of culminating activities represented the teachers' idea multiplied by the number of children who were involved in the activity. Displays of these products showed that every one was similar. The homogenous teacher-perception of the teaching-learning situations therefore greatly influenced how life in these classrooms would be experienced.

Life in these classrooms also reflected a dialectic between the children's home culture and how they were expected to behave in the second culture classroom. As a result there was little overt support for the non-English-speaking immigrant children to make a gradual integration into the expected conventional ways of the second culture classroom life. There was also little support for the children's heritage language to be used as a link to learning and thinking through the second language: Standard English.

Teachers seemed to prefer to entertain the frustrations which they experienced as a result of the language and cultural barriers rather than modify their curricula and pedagogical approaches to shaping life in these classrooms in a partnership with the children's homes. In a hidden way therefore, the children's homes were still perceived as a source which contradicted what the school seemed to validate and endorse as learning and knowledge.

The sources of problems and frustrations felt by all concerned with shaping the life for non-English-speaking immigrant children in the multi-cultural classroom lay primarily in the teachers' inability to use the diversity of language and cultural resources to maximize teaching creativity and learning potential. The problems and frustrations were compounded by the alienation of parents and the children's homes as vital links to the ultimate academic achievement of which these children may be capable. If life in these classrooms is to be experienced more positively, change in the way the non-English-speaking immigrant learner is perceived has to take place at all levels of the education system.

C. Implications for Parents

There can hardly be any dispute over the fact that the parents of the non-English-speaking immigrant children are their first teachers. The parents, more than any other evaluators of these children's developmental progress, know the extent of their children's ability to succeed at tasks pertaining to general human development. These parents, more than any other people, have the most reliable progress reports on their children's competencies at tasks which are experienced in the total social contexts in which they were socialized. As such, parents of non-English-speaking immigrant children have to be one of the crucial keys in their children's ultimate academic success and life in the second-culture classroom. That key consists of first-hand knowledge of the backgrounds of these children's total development. There is an urgent need for schools to find some way to encourage parents to share this important first-hand knowledge about their children's background and development. Unfortunately, in the schools where this study took place, the only use that was made of parents' expertise about their children's potential for competent development was to provide information about the children's personal histories for the school's records. The explanations which teachers gave for this minimal parental participation was that parents felt very uncomfortable in the school context as a result of their limited ability to speak Standard English. Once again emphasis was placed on the immigrants' language differences as the cause for teachers upholding their preference for linguistic competence in the use of Standard English as one of the most important criterion for active participation in the shaping of life for the children in the second-culture classroom. The patterns of parent-children interactions and relationships in the children's homes were overlooked as teachers continued to be occupied with parents' knowledge of, or lack of the ability to communicate with them about their children's backgrounds in English. How meanings and shared intentions were realized in parent-child relationships was also lost as a result of the teachers' pre-occupations with problems of not being able to share understandings in the classrooms through a common language. In general, the sharing of important information among parents and teachers was either minimal and/or restricted. The recognition of parents as significant Others and crucial keys towards helping non-English-speaking immigrant children experience a more functional and secure life in the second-culture classroom was therefore also minimal and/or overlooked in the teaching-learning process. This situation only contributed to the frustrations experienced by teachers in teaching non-English-speaking immigrant children.

If the repeated desires which the teachers expressed to find a better way to shape life in multi-cultural classrooms were as genuine as they seemed, then certain modifications to the way parents' resources are currently used in Early Childhood programs are necessary. Some of these modifications would include the following:

The present status of parent involvement

1. Involvement is severely restricted on the basis that parents cannot properly express themselves in English, hence it is assumed that they cannot share important information.
2. Information sharing about the children's development in school is usually a one-sided experience. The teachers speak to parents rather than with them and/or about them and their children.
3. Parents' first-hand knowledge of the capabilities of their children at learning is excluded from any form of evaluative tests, judgements and decision making about the children's academic lives in the second culture. Very often incorrect placements of these children occur. This results from the second-culture evaluations which are

held away from any home or cultural influences familiar to the children and are often the only basis in which these evaluations are made.

4. Parents participate minimally in their children's school life. Thus very little opportunity exists for minimizing the protective and partial attitude toward their own culture which they cling to. This in turn perpetuates the feeling of alienation for both teachers, parents and children from each others' cultural understandings and developments.

Changes which could maximize information sharing between parents and teachers

1. Parents of non-English-speaking immigrant children understand more than they can express about their children's backgrounds. Trained multilingual school board officials could be recruited on a voluntary and/or paid basis to help minority parents to share the information they have of their children's total development.
2. Initially at the beginning of each school year, an interpreter-parent-teacher team should be used in the classroom environments. This team would help to organize space for learning, interactive patterns during learning time and the quality of interpersonal relationships which parents and children use successfully to facilitate maximum success for their children as they get tasks done.
3. The initial interactional patterns and physical contexts for evaluating these children's abilities to learn has to be modified. In the place of the interpreter-child-tests pattern in a booth or school board environment, there needs to be a 'parent-interpreter-child, interaction-observation' situation in the child's new, natural environment. A partnership between the home and the school influences on shaping a more relevant and meaningful academic experience and achievements are crucial.
4. A higher frequency of active parental involvement in the school's programs would facilitate the need for parents to drop their defensive attitudes towards the majority culture. This would be one of the first positive steps in the direction of assuming more responsibility for helping their children to incorporate the values

and adjust more easily to the expectations which the second culture classroom demands.

D. Implications for Teachers

One of the first criteria with which the three kindergarten teachers shaped life in their multi-cultural classrooms was to ensure their own professional and physical survival. The teachers' perceived and shaped life in their classrooms as if all the factors which were represented by the children were homogenous. This in turn resulted in the use of pedagogical strategies for interacting with all children and sharing information in a uniform manner. The importance for teachers to stop and reflect on how oppressive such an approach to teaching and learning may be, from the cultural perspectives of the diverse groups represented in their classrooms, was minimized. Because of this, teachers' perceptions and methods of shaping life in multi-cultural classrooms often conflicted with the realities of the other aspects of the lives of culturally different children. If more than the aim to survive in the multi-cultural classroom is to be realized by teachers and non-English-speaking immigrant children, then there is no doubt that teachers have to acknowledge and respond more appropriately to the currently overlooked realities which the multi-cultural dimension of their classroom populations bring. The following suggestions may provide a starting point for more positive responses to these diversities, in order to maximize children's academic, social and psychological development.

General characteristics of teachers' pedagogy

1. Information sharing (that is, teaching) primarily involves a "lecture-like", one-way effort on the teachers' part. The same context, the same interaction patterns and the same time periods for learning was applied to all.
2. All materials and physical organization in the kindergarten environments were pre-arranged on the teachers' conceptualization of what is good for children's development. The physical arrangements and symbols of literacy all reflect the values

of working in groups, but at the same time for one's self. Working at the identical ideas and concepts initiated by the teacher and working at the same tasks at their rates and paces was the primary approach to task involvement.

3. The patterns of interaction between teachers and non-English-speaking immigrant children during teaching-learning tasks still reflect an "I-Them --- Us-Them" attitude.

Changes necessary to maximize total development

1. The wish to teach only through a linguistic medium has to be replaced with the desire to learn from observation of how non-English-speaking immigrant children make the knowledge of the second culture classroom their own. Documentation, action-intervention and one-to-one interpersonal relationships can initiate a more appropriate style for teaching children from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.
2. Teachers have to make deliberate efforts to include, and if possible, balance the material environment of their classrooms-with the symbols of the minority children's heritage cultures. Such reflections should go far beyond the 'exotic' and 'tourist' representations of children's cultures. If this is done, it will communicate to minority children that both their heritage resources and themselves are valued for what they are. The implied acceptance of these facts can facilitate an easier process for building trust, security and self-esteem within their new, second-culture classroom environment.
3. The patterns of interaction between teachers and non-English-speaking immigrant children should emphasize the "We" in the teaching-learning relationship. Concepts and ideas which form the basis of human development need to become the focus of content. These concepts could include experiences which deal with human emotions; health; survival; interdependence of man and nature; building and nurturing relationships from different cultural perspectives; coping with loss.

E. Implications for Teacher Preparation Programs

In describing the importance of Early Childhood Education in a multi-cultural society such as Canada, Mock (1982) suggests that

> Multiculturalism means understanding and functioning comfortably within more than one cultural context. It begins in the pre-school with everyday experiences in play, language, art, music --- not "lessons" about people and places remote from the child's experience.

A developmental approach to understanding how to function within more than one's own cultural context is implied in Mock's definition of multiculturalism. A developmental approach to understanding any phenomenon implies building on each previous stage of experience and understanding of that phenomenon. Any developmental approach also implies deliberate preparation for understanding a phenomenon through appropriately designed experiences. If kindergarten teachers are to understand how to help themselves and non-Engllish-speaking immigrant children to share each other's worlds comfortably, teacher preparation programs need to incorporate and demonstrate certain characteristics. The latter will include the following:

1) Teacher preparation programs need to balance traditional classroom approaches to teaching children of the majority culture, with approaches which cater to using the diversity of linguistic and cultural resources which minority children bring to the multi-cultural classroom. The latter will include helping teachers of the majority culture to use non-verbal modes of sharing information in the multi-cultural classroom. Traditional program preparation help teachers to facilitate and evaluate learning primarily through linguistic competencies.
2) Teachers of the majority culture need to alternate equally between portions of their practicum experiences in classrooms and other childcare settings which are reflective of both homogenous and heterogenous student representation. Barry and MacIntyre (1982) suggest examples of such settings. Heterogenous grouping is often defined as having to teach children of varying learning abilities, and/or varying learning disabilities, but who are primarily from the majority culture. Teachers need to be exposed to initial practicum experiences where they truly learn to cope with and understand how to teach children of ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds

different from those of the former. This strategy could be the one most basic step in the direction which teacher preparation programs could make to ensure that the teachers' preparatory experiences do not prove futile when teachers are confronted with children with whom they cannot communicate using traditional linguistic modes of teaching.

3) The content of the curricula of teacher preparation programs should reflect an awareness of the teachers' need to understand how to shape experiences which acknowledge the cognitive, social and personal needs of all students represented in the multi-cultural classrooms. This awareness cannot be developed through casual reference to the exotic dishes, cultural costumes and holidays of minority children. This is more so if they are set in interest centres characteristic of the organization of pre-school classrooms. Instead, this awareness has to be developed through mandatory course requirements which are designed to evoke teachers' acknowledgement and endorsement of both the similarities and differences of minority children, and how to utilize these as sources for building relevant curricula experiences for such children. Mock (1982) outlines examples of such course content which was successfully used to help kindergarten teachers better understand and cope with the multi-cultural diversities represented in their classrooms. This suggestion supports Mock's definition of the function of multi-cultural education which is expressed in the following:

> Multicultural education does not eliminate differences: it builds on cultural diversity as a strength in the classroom and in our Canadian society. Furthermore, multicultural education at the early childhood level is in keeping with the principles of child development, that is, how children develop cognitively, socially, and emotionally (p. 3).

4) Courses which students enrolled in the B. Ed. program at the University Of Alberta indicate that courses which deal with cross-cultural education come under the category of electives. Teachers therefore select their courses to complete the number of courses required to graduate or because of interest. If these courses which deal with helping prospective teachers to teach all the children who occupy multi-cultural classrooms were designated as part of the core courses, then the

chances would be greater for all teachers to be exposed to some basic understanding of how to incorporate and endorse the cultural and linguistic diversities in their teaching-learning processes with fewer frustrations and contradictions. There would be a gradual development of the understanding that teaching should help children to develop whatever potential they have to become their own persons, rather than be pressured into becoming "Canadianized" from the early age of five years. Such understanding does not come about by chance in teacher preparation programs. Rather, such understanding has to come about through deliberate and specific experiences in which student teachers are actively involved. Mock(1982) offers some ideas on this direction in the following:

> To be effective, teachers should introduce multi-cultural content into their programs as early as possible. The teacher may need extra time to prepare this, but the rewards are many. Encouraging multiculturalism at the early childhood level will benefit all children; they will gain self-esteem and pride in their cultural heritage and understand and accept the backgrounds of others.
>
> The challenge such a philosophy poses to teachers is great. The potential for frustration in today's schools is tremendous. Without specific preparation for teaching in a multicultural society and without continual support by community resources and professional development in multicultural concerns and curriculum adaptation, these frustrations can only continue. Our pre-service and in-service programs must be redesigned to meet the needs of our teachers and children (p. 4).

Teachers in preparation need to feel support for their need to be flexible in the classroom at the initial period of their becoming teachers: that is, within the colleges, universities and/or in-service professional institutions in which they place their trust for the most appropriate preparation. If attitudes and understandings should change about what is not happening for non-English-speaking immigrant children in the contexts where this study took place, it has to begin in the teacher preparation institutions, and continue throughout the other levels of administration. Changes of attitude to teaching these children cannot take place effectively only at the classroom level by the teacher. All agencies which influence the shaping of the education process must be involved in change.

F. Implications For In-service Teacher Education

Dixon (1985) states that

> Initial teacher education courses can, ..., make only a limited impact overall. Adequate in-service provision is required if the necessary inroads are to be made into the thinking and practice of serving teachers. This is a particularly urgent requirement, given that most practising teachers had no opportunity in their pre-service education to consider issues relating to multicultural education (p. 165).

The researcher supports Dixon's contribution and adds that initially there needs to be in-service education structured uniquely to meet the needs of teachers, parents, children and the geographical community within which the schools exist. For example, multicultural populations who reside in those areas categorized as inner-city areas not only have the needs for being understood linguistically and culturally, but they also need from teachers a higher level of sensitivity to their vulnerability to the influences of an environment which constantly bombard and erode their belief in their self-worth.

More important to the whole concept of using in-service education to make inroads into a way of thinking and the appropriate classroom practice, is the need for teachers to understand, articulate and document clearly ideas on the following:

1) How do all significant Others who affect the child's re-socialization in a second culture perceive what counts as knowledge for living successfully?
2) What interlocking realities are revealed by each significant Other in 1) above?
3) Why develop an understanding of multicultural education?
4) What agencies should participate in the cost bearing aspects of promoting multicultural education which would reflect low cost input and quality knowledge output?

If the response to 3) above recognizes multicultural education as necessity rather than as luxury in the preparation of minority children to be adept in a new society, then a practical and functional in-service experience could be developed successfully.

Gradually, when 1, 2, 3, and 4 above have been responded to, the continuing theme which should run through the content of in-service education should focus on the on-going need to develop sensitivity to one's own and others' values, patterns of cultural meanings and understanding alternatives to a Standard English mode of communicating for learning anew.

Finally, the initial baseline of any aspect of continuing teacher education designed to help teachers cope with the multi-cultural dimension in their classrooms should reflect what Watt (1977) suggests. That is, education should offer to develop in teachers "skills that transform paper curriculum into high-import learning experiences for (all) students in the class (p. 24).

G. Implications for Administrators and Policy Makers at All Levels of the Education System

1)

Barry and MacIntyre (1982) make some very crucial observations and suggestions with regards to some features which should characterize life in the multi-cultural classroom. These are stated in the following:

> Canada is made up of many cultures. If we ignore differences within this multiethnic society, we may foster prejudices and misunderstandings between these cultures. But if we take advantage of our cultural resources, we can build a strong and unique mullticultural Canada.
> One of the best ways of fostering this multicultural "Canadian mosaic" is to use the public education system:
>
> Because schools are such a dominant factor in shaping the beliefs and behaviours of tomorrow's adults ... school curricula must encourage development of self-esteem and acceptance of all groups.
> The school system can teach children about the differences as well as the similarities among different ethnic groups. And the children, in turn, can share this knowledge with their parents, siblings, and teachers, developing their understanding of what it means to be Canadian.
> The attitude of the teacher is very important in this process; he or she must view multiculturalism as a foundation on which to build a curriculum. A healthy and enthusiastic attitude by the teacher will promote the same in the children.
> To make the learning experience both educatonal and personal, the teacher must acknowledge the significance of each student's heritage and culture, and their effects on our own. The emphasis here should shift from exploiting the differences to explaining the unique qualities of cultures and how all cultures depend on each other in so many ways. Our curriculum must reflect "the pluralist nature of Canadian society". It must also include the study of cultures around the world and their importance in our contemporary society. Children should become aware of their own ethnicity as well as that of others; they should recognize their place in the group as one of importance, not merely of a minority (p. 7).

The multi-cultural classroom is a microcosm of the macro society. In such a classroom, as in the real world of the greater society, it is absolutely necessary for each person to develop tolerance, cooperation and an understanding of the interdependence of each on the other, in order to function well at a personal and social level. Here, the quality, relevance and appropriateness of education as a liberating experience, rather than as an oppressive experience, to help all children function satisfactorily in a society which is heterogenous in every sense could be tested.

Although the fostering of Barry and MacIntyre's (1982) features of multicultural education is directed towards the classroom teachers, all administrators and policy makers in the education system need to acknowledge and support the fostering of these features in the interest of maximizing the positive functions of education in the life of all concerned.

2) Administrators and policy makers need to reflect on current characteristics of the evaluative and formative processes of their education systems in order to determine their relevance to the cultural backgrounds of their minority children. Knowledge of the exotic foods, tourist features and national costumes does not reflect life as it is experienced totally in the children's heritage cultures. Every effort should be made to study the role of the culturally different language speaker in their real world situations in order to help them to make a more successful and lasting transition into the majority culture. In short, administrators and policy makers need to support curricula, programs, processes and policies which reflect a sensitivity to the minority child's culturally different forms of language, thinking, learning and living in their heritage cultures, if an alternative life in the second culture classroom is to be experienced successfully. Differences need to be responded to in curricula, evaluation tests and teaching approaches, rather than being treated as problems and deficits.

H. Area for Further Research

1)

The multi-cultural classroom is ideal for conducting action research as defined by Strumquist (1984). Using this research, the total language environment for each lesson taught would be recorded over a reasonable period. Here, language environment means, the teacher-pupil dialogue, teaching-learning aids, wall charts, other concrete materials, colours and worksheets used by teachers and children in each lesson context. In this research teachers, researchers and other staff members could examine the recorded information for the following purposes:

a) Everyone could receive immediate and specific feedback on the language, academic and social demands made in each lesson on the non-English-speaking immigrant children.

b) The appropriateness and relevance of these demands in these children's overall lives could be evaluated and modified to facilitate a more meaningful school experience for teachers and children.

2) The patterns of parent-child interactions in as many natural learning contexts in the home of non-English-speaking immigrant children as possible should be studied. These should be compared with the teacher-child patterns of interaction in the classroom in teacher initiated and child-initiated learning contexts. The results could be shared with the home and all concerned in the school in order to develop a greater consistency and less traumatic transition between the two environments in which these children have to experience a new second culture acculturation.

I. Summary

In each of the classrooms discussed, the politicising of the education process was clearly demonstrated as teachers tried to explain the irrelevant and inappropriate teaching strategies and program content through the following:

a) they were not professionally equipped to accomodate and utilise the cultural and linguistic differences which the children from different ethno-cultures brought to their classrooms.

b) they were sympathetic with the identity crises which these children experienced in the traditional second-culture education process. However, they were also being honest to look after their own career interest while their administrators determined whether to document policies which would indicate their unwavering support for the adaptation of the education process to empower non-English-speaking immigrant children to develop totally and competently in the second-culture environment of the classroom and society. To date policy statements concerning the pragmatics of adapting such educational process to meet the needs of different ethnocultural groups are only "implicit" in general political documentation (Final Report of the Committee on Tolerance and Understanding, 1984). As a result, the interpretation of what each teacher's role should be in teaching the children from such groups is left to factors which s/he perceives as influencing her/his greater good.

Each teacher however acknowledged that the difficult life which they share with non-English-speaking immigrant children are not the fault of the inability of the latter to speak Standard English. Rather, the teachers' inability to utilize the way these children use their heritage language and world knowledge to bridge the gaps between their world and the new impeded a better quality of learning experience for teachers and children.

J. Limitations of the Investigation

1) The Research Settings Could Have Been Fewer

The researcher's reflections on the physical and human investment into three research contexts on a weekly basis was exacting. This was coupled with the fact that the time invested in establishing trusting relationships in each of the three contexts could have been invested in increased time for more intensive data collecting in a single context. In so doing I could have worked more comfortably with one of each of the defined adults in the researched classrooms. The resulting stress sometimes called for much more time to separate and re-construct the process of events in each of the three contexts. Consequently, too much time was involved in checking, re-checking and validating what was reconstructed through discussions.

2) Inadequate Availability Of Second-Language Resources

The inability to communicate directly with the oldest non-English-speaking immigrant participants constantly required the use of interpreters to mediate interviews and discussions for my benefit. This often created much stress by prolonged interview sessions, some impatience and intolerance for what sometimes seemed to parents to be "insensitivity" to incomprehensible pain of loss (Vietnamese Interpreter, December, 1983).

VIII. EPILOGUE

A. Conceptual Changes Needed in Multi-cultural Classrooms

The study revealed that the teaching-learning situation could be seen in the framework of dialectics: that is, as a set of dialectical relationships between:

1) teacher and learner and their separate barriers of culture and language;
2) parent and teacher perception of the child as a learner;
3) home and school knowledge: the former is not legitimate: the latter is.

Each position represented a thesis which tended to be divorced from the other. The school situation thus created incongruities (conflicts): an on-going antithetical situation. This disequilibrating situation needed to be resolved through a coming-together of parties involved to pursue an exploration of "the between" - to create a synthesis foremost for the good of the children. It required a genuine dialogue between the respective parties for this to take place. In this light, the following conceptual changes might be needed:

1) changes in the public culture of the dominant group. This could be promoted through "in-service" education for all "to see the human in each other";
2) accommodation has to go hand-in-hand with assimilation (genuine adaptation). This should involve not the "ethnic" group alone, but also the dominant group. The process should help to bridge the different realities through the acquisition of a new attitude of how each sees the child in the new "reality": the second-culture classroom and society;
3) a view of teaching where teacher-student roles are interchangeable (that is, each be a teacher and student, and learning from each other). In this way each party may be seen as a source of knowledge.

B. Methodogical Changes: Needed in Multi-cultural Classrooms

Classroom research cannot be reduced to a set of pre-determined 'content'. "Behavioral approach" tends to be reductionistic. It fails to show the phenomenological and existential realities of subjects. It also overshadows the socio-political context in which knowledge is created, conserved, transmitted and/or evaluated. Analysis/interpretation of the teaching-learning situation may better involve the 'active participants'. These include teachers, students, parents, administrators. A researcher may look at the enterprise as an on-going teaching-learning situation. It is a situation in which the latter 'participates' to help create 'meaning'.

In sum, multi-cultural education should synthesize teachers' and children's worlds. This would allow both minority and majority children to receive all, or as many

> advantages of a cross-cultural experience that gives them meaningful skills as well as values, facilitating their participation in cross-cultural collaboration for goals important to them, whether they are associated with subordinate or dominant social groups (St. Lawrence, 1976, pp. 19-23).

The ultimate goal of schooling for these children should be "the development of skills for 'world-mobility'" (Mead, 1946, pp.).

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APPENDIX A

Examples of teaching-learning situations which were constantly directed towards reinforcing, retrieving and testing pre-defined knowledge based on second culture definitions which teachers shared with non-English-speaking immigrant children in Classrooms A, B, and C.

Classroom C:

Activity:

Defining the concept of "A Family" in a large group circle which included native and the defined children; and Miss Chase.

Materials:

A large paper chart drawn up into seven columns which were 3 through 5 consecutively. These columns were to accommodate the total number of members who made up each child's "family" unit as each counted and identified these for the teacher.

Teacher;s Definition of "A Family": A dad, a mom, and the children.

The response of Donnie, a five-year-old Chinese child to the teacher's cultural definition created much insecurity for her when Donnie vehemently argued in his imperfect standard English against it, as it did not accurately represent his, and his family's cultural definition of the concept.

In Donnie's cultural view, the family elders are an integral part of the unit. His family unit was composed of dad, mom, brother and grandmother. when Donnie's turn came around he told his teacher, "Five". His verbal response was at this time unaccompanied by the showing of a numerical action of that number on his fingers. Donnie's teacher had paid a visit to his home at the beginning of his first term at school and met all members of his family except Grandma. As a consequence of her observation, she responded to Donnie's contribution of the definition of his family unit with a spontaneous -- "Four! You mean four, Donnie". Donnie paused for a while as he met his teacher's gaze with a puzzling look. He then responded to his teacher with "No! Five". Miss Chase insisted, "Let's count your family members, okay". So Donnie and Teacher began counting and matching family members to their fingers: "Dad -- one; Mom -- two; your brother -- three; and you make -- four". Donnie then yelled, "And Grandma too -- she's family". This is how Donnie arrived at the number -- "5" and recognized that he should be slotted into Column 5 and not 4 as his teacher originally indicated.

When Miss Chase heard Donnie's rationale for his definition she tried to dissuade him to think of his grandmother within the pre-defined manner of the concept which she shared with the class. Unfortunately, Donnie fought her seeming coaxing to change his perception, and would not rest until she had slotted him under the Column 5. This she did after very frustratingly sighing and remarking, "We-e-ell -- all right". Much time seemed lost during the time which Miss Chase took to sort out Donnie's seeming misunderstanding about the definition of the concept. Consequently, other children became quite agitated and restless. This did not facilitate the initial ease with which the activity began when the teacher could almost predict the smooth direction in which the lesson would proceed.

Analysis:

In the foregoing example, the situation of crossed-purposes in learning occurred as a result of each one viewing the concept from different cultural frames and experiences. For Miss Chase, the pre-occupation was slotting Donnie into a numerical column, and to complete that activity within a specific time. The cognitive demonstration of understanding was that each child should be able to match the number of their family unit with the numeral on the chart. For Donnie, the pre-occupation was that Grandma had been ousted in the counting, and that she was therefore not valued by his teacher as a member of the family. Numbers got in the way of his verbalizing such personal meaning of knowledge of his cultural concept of "the family". Though he seemed to understand that it was important that ~~he~~ be identified in a numerical column he was nevertheless piqued that his conclusion that column 5 which he correctly corresponded to his family group should be treated in a way which said that he failed to process the concept and activity requirements although he understood what was required. The condescending manner in which his definition was eventually accepted left him sad.

The foregoing example of the misunderstanding which is construed from perceiving concepts from different cultural cognitive understandings convey examples of pedagogical messages for learning. Some of these messages could be stated as follows:

i) the transmission of factual mono-cultural definitions of knowledge to children from diverse cultural backgrounds does not translate into successful learning, when anything other than the actual experience of learners are incorporated into attempts to teach.

ii) this immigrant child was not lacking in the understanding of the concept of "family" per se. Instead this child was lacking in the second culture definition of that concept. This in no way meant that he was lacking in the knowledge of a conceptual experience as his teacher was inclined to determine. This definition simply did not match that of the school culture.

iii) this child's cultural definition was as relevant as the teacher's to the concept under consideration. His interpretation was merely an alternative to the school's.

Miss Avery, on expressing frustrations about the seeming inability of immigrant parents to motivate their children to cope with the school culture.

> "It bothers me that these parents spend so much time working way into the night at their jobs and leave all the child's responsibilities to me. They are so obsessed with trying to get up in the society that the children are neglected. Maybe it's a cultural thing. But the child suffers because he or she becomes quite confused. The parents should take more responsibility in helping the child fit into what's going on. They don't have to attend meetings or anything. The school has to do everything." (Pre-entry Study; October, 1983)

Grade 1 teacher, expressing her feelings concerning having more than one immigrant child in her classroom.

> "I never call on anyone to speak for the child. With M--, the little Polish boy, his cousin was in the classroom so they spoke Polish together, so the little girl helped him a lot. It would be interesting to see what happens to him next year as she's going back to Poland. And that's why I think — say, two children if they are E.S.L. or immigrant children, if possible should not be allowed to be in the same classroom, because then they start falling back on each other and communicating and making them lazy, rather than integrating themselves into our ways. That's what they should do." (May, 1984)

In this example, asking the child to forget is presumed to facilitate learning.

Miss Bell, who often seemed to feel secure when every child demonstrated the ability to perform at the same rate and in exactly the manner in which all were instructed, expressed frustration at James, an Alaskan Indian child, who was described as "language different'.

> "How could he learn anything? He's always taking off to his grandparents' home somewhere in the North where he has to go through the customs and rituals of his culture. When he gets back his mother does nothing about helping him to return to a normal life. Neighbours don't even know his mother. She does not mix with anyone. So he's pretty much alone with his own people. When he gets back to school, all that he learned goes down the drain." (Teacher-Researcher Interview; October 14, 1983)

An example of a teacher-parent conference between Miss Avery and a Vietnamese parent (teacher's permission to audiotape granted). The immigrant child of this parent was initially diagnosed as autistic when she did not respond verbally or by non-verbal behaviours which provided the teacher with any indication that this child understood the requests/demands made by the teacher. It is interesting to note the teacher's focus of what is required as meaningful parental co-operation/involvement in his child's classroom life:

- what is to be known;
- why it has to be known;
- how it is to be known;
- what counts as acceptable knowledge in the second culture classroom.

Demonstrating that what is known can be communicated in standard English is still preferred.

Parent	Teacher
	Thanks for coming. Ah - I wanted to find out how Fing is feeling about school.
Okay.	
	That's good. Ahm - maybe at home, if it is possible, do you think you could work with him on his English? He knows his numbers (numerals) very well, up to a hundred. But do you think you could start helping him to do his numbers to ten (meaning matching numerals to equivalent quantities) and his alphabet - just the capital letters at this time? Shapes - squares, triangles, rectangles, circles. He knows most of these but he needs to learn them in English.
Yes.	
	And the colours. Maybe read a story in English.
Yes.	
	He needs to be able to do them a lot better in English.
Yes.	
	Do you think you could do that?
(Father laughs.)	

(Parent and child leave the classroom communicating in Vietnamese.)

An example of journal entry of information shared about Miss Avery's frustrations and fears of not seeming to accomplish her goals planned for children's academic activities. These thoughts were shared after reflections on videotaped teaching episodes over what seemed to be a trying day for teacher and her students.

Researcher's Notes	Miss Avery
	At the other school where I was they have students, that the majority of students are English-speaking, so the foreign kids pick up the language very quickly.
Children's differences perceived as problems as teacher does not seem to accept that learning takes place even when words are not spoken.	We, as teachers, hardly had any *problems* at all. But -- but here it's a whole new ball game and it's so easy to fall back into their own language.
The greater the minority group the more difficult it is to ensure learning when instruction is primarily through the linguistic mode. Teacher still does not realize that to support learning through a child's could lay a better foundation and security for learning the second language (Cummins, 1978).	Here, these children (immigrant children) are *not the minority*, we the teachers are the minority -- so we are more *handicapped* than they are. Whereas, in the other school where I've been before, this one, those immigrant children couldn't fall back on their language during the daytime at all.
The home is still perceived as a causal source for blame when the how - about children's learning contradicts that of the school. Shyness is confused with insecurity and uncertainty of what is still unknown by these children. The teacher's evaluation is also a result of uncertainty of an alternative way of demonstrating that learning is occurring - only that it's done through the language in which the children are more secure.	Here I'm finding that in the home situation, the parents do not speak any English at all which is fine, because in their culture, so in here for the longest time, I did not want to tell the child, e.g. like Tran - I don't really like to say, "Don't talk", 'cause they're shy - very shy. But I just find myself having to do that - It doesn't help though. Even if it's in their own language, if she can build up an attitude of trust and pick up the English structures for her language.
Theoretically - moving from what is known to what is unknown facilitates learning.	She has - has come a far way. She now feels quite comfortable and now I can say to her - Anna and Tran, "I want you to speak English in class" - even when they're talking to each other -- and they do without *feeling punished* - and they can still share and go back to their own language.

Nevertheless, it was refreshing to listen to James tell of the experiences with his grandfather in the ice in the Great North. His little eyes lit up as he used his hands, face and laughter to describe the dogs hauling his sled. This kind of knowledge was strictly non-school knowledge for this teacher who, when ready to "teach" her group work would say to James, "Okay, James, time to work now".

Grade 1 teacher, School B, expressing thoughts about the immigrant children who showed early signs of lagging behind their peers in their adopted country.

> "These children have a real problem when they get here. They cannot keep the pace at which I need to go if they're going to cover everything they should before going to Grade 2. They just aren't equipped to cope and it's not fair to let the regular children wait on them. I can't let the class wait on one child. I can see them struggling to keep up because it's not the same thing like what they're accustomed to in their country. Expectations are high -- so it's too bad for them when I have to send some back to kindergarten to get the basics." (November, 1983)

According to this teacher, the system is accustomed to go with the pace of the fast learners only.

Teacher Aide, Classroom A, in defending the traditional strategy for presenting an auditory discrimination activity in stereotypical fashion, placed on the children the blame for their lack of comprehension with corresponding undesirable results which included their inability to perform as well as Canadian peers. She stated:

> "Let's face it, Shirley, these children are not gonna make it anyway. They're just passing through like. So -- you know -- how could you stop -- you know -- to try more than you're already doing. They're not going to do any better. They're here for a time -- and that's it." (January, 1984)

An example of teacher's questioning strategy to recall the concept of sequence in story told to children. Once again the insistence on getting children to retrieve facts over encouraging spontaneous individual responses as children feel the content of the story.

Classroom C

Activity: Recalling the concept of sequence through questioning techniques.

Context: Children and teacher sitting in carpeted area to listen to and recall story.

Children's Verbal and Non-Verbal Responses	Verbal and Non-verbal Contributions to the Activity
	Now, after the horse came, the --?
Fox.	
	Fox. And the fox couldn't carry the little gingerbread boy up the hill, so he had to carry -- on his -- what?
Back.	
	No.
(Children yell answers.)	
	Don't shout out the answers, okay. Janie?
His tail.	
	His tail. Where is his tail?
There.	
	Do you have a tail?
(Choral reply) No-o-oh!	
	Then after he said "Oh little gingerbread boy, you're gonna get -- what --?
Wet.	
	You'd better hop in my --?
(All yell - Back)	
	I can't hear. Chung is sitting so nicely.

(Now all children take teacher's last observation as a cue for being quiet - so all shut up.)	
	His back!! Then they cruised a little more on the river . Then after he said, "little Gingerbread boy, you're gonna get —?
Wet.	
	Wet. So you'd better hop on my —? What ?
Nose.	
(This E.S.L. child was diagnosed as being never able to learn.)	
	Nose.
	Okay. Len you should thank Janie for helping you.
	On the nose. Do you think that was very smart of the Gingerbread boy?
(All together) N-o-oh.	
	I want you to think for a moment. What would you have done?
I think I wouldn't even go on this back. He would eat me out.	
	Quiet!
	So, would you have gone on his back? What would you have done instead?
No response.	
	Why would he have gone on the Fox's back in the first place?
	Why did he get on the Fox? Dan?
(Other children offer to reply. Dan is not usually willing to initiate a response.)	
	Shssh - you're not Dan. This one's Dan.

	Because what? He wanted to what Janie?
(No response)	
(Children are becoming continually restless.)	
	He wanted to what? (Open question to class at this point)
	Ken, Janie. (Calls specific children to attention.)
Ahm - he got no place to go.	
	(Ignores reply as it was not that given in story text, so teacher suggests —) He wanted to cross the —?
(Children reply in chorus) R-i-v-e-r.	
	R-i-v-e-r! Don, how would you have crossed the river?
(Other than Don reply — swim.)	
	Swim - okay - think! When we have cookies and milk, what happens to the cookie?
	Don what would you have done?
(Shrugs shoulders.)	
(Another child) Get a boat.	
	You would have gotten a boat. There's a good idea.
	Len, what else could you have done?
(No answer.)	
Boat.	
	We said a boat. What else?
(No answer.)	

	What else could he have done?
Ask a bird.	
	Ask a bird to fly over. That's a good idea because an can fly, but a bird can fly.
	What else could he have done?
	He could have taken a boat. He could have gone on a fish. He could have asked a bird to fly him over.
	What else could he have done?
No response.	
	Could a cookie fly?
	No. Cookies can't run. And most cookies can't run, can they?
(Chorus) No.	
	That's really good. I'm really happy with what you told me.
(Everyone has a voluntary idea to share on how the cookie could have gotten across the river - and tries to say same to teacher - almost simultaneously. Teacher yells —)	
	Ah — Hands up because everbody's going yap, yap, yap. And I can't hear when everybody's going like that. I have only - how many ears?
(Chorus) Two! Three!	
	Two. And they listen to how many voices?
Two.	
	One voice at a time.
She's mad. (This remark came out too loudly so child hides behind peers. Teacher overhears.)	I'm not mad. I said I can only

	listen to one voice at a time.
	Ken.
Ken says, I have something.	
	You have something. What do you have? What colour is it?
Red.	
	And?
White.	
	White. Good. Put it back in your pocket.
I got a lot of these.	
	Okay, well I don't wanna see it again.
	L , what do you have to tell me?
(No response.)	
	Ron?
When are we gonna have snack?	
	After we see this movie. The name of this film is Ricki-Ticki-Tavy. Can you say that?
(All say name.)	
	Now you'll have to be quiet. Sh-s-sh.
(Still trying to pronounce the name of movie in different levels of voice.)	
	I'll have to give you a bad look because you're not listening.

An example of a teacher initiated activity which was intended to help non-English speaking immigrant children:

- Listen to sort pictures through auditory discrimination;
- Engage in matching what was heard with the correct illustrations on worksheets;
- Number illustrations with matching pictures.

In this activity, Miss Bell practically performed and completed the activity for most of the children in this group.

Classroom B

Activity: A group of eight non-English speaking immigrant children listening to taped story, answering questions in order to complete worksheet exercises.

Teacher's Instructions	Taped Story Text	Children's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions	Audio Instructions	Teacher's Verbal/ Non-Verbal Contributions to Completing the Activity
Okay - would you take a look at this (shows the worksheet which accompanies tape recorded story to which E.S.L. children will listen - by English-speaking narrator). This here you have to put the numbers on, so you look now. And don't say the answers out loud. (In spite of given instructions about writing names on worksheet, teacher yet has to point to and show each E.S.L. child where to write his/her name.)				Reinforcing the individualist characteristic of the society.

Teacher's Instructions	Taped Story Text	Children's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions	Audio Instructions	Teacher's Verbal/ Non-Verbal Contributions to Completing the Activity
Now the man's gonna tell you a story. You're not putting circles. No circles - just put a number (meaning numeral). Okay - let's listen.				
		You first got to plug it in.		
	The narrator begins: Auditory Discrimination Tape Series: Level 1 - Lesson #7		-To complete this worksheet you would need a pencil. -Pick up your pencil. -I'm going to tell you a story about a trip that Tommy took. -Iwant you to listen carefully and when you hear the sound made by the things you see, mark your picture on your worksheet. -When you hear the first sound made by the things you will write #1 next to the picture of the thing that made the sound. -When you hear the second sound you will write #2 next to the	

Teacher's Instructions	Taped Story Text	Children's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions	Audio Instructions	Teacher's Verbal/ Non-Verbal Contributions to Completing the Activity
			picture of the thing that made that sound. -You will go on until you have done all on your worksheet. -Listen carefully while I tell you about Tom and Kathy.	
	Tom and Kathy are in the first grade. They are learning about transportation. Transportation means - the way we get from one place to the other. Uncle Harry thought that it would be nice for Tom and Kathy to drive to the airport and see how the airplanes land and take off. The children were so happy when Uncle Harry said: "Kids, we're going to the airport today."			
			-Find the picture of Uncle Harry saying this - for #1.	

Teacher's Instructions	Taped Story Text	Children's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions	Audio Instructions	Teacher's Verbal/ Non-Verbal Contributions to Completing the Activity
		(Children peering over to their friends work-sheets to get correct response to #2.)		Don't look at anybody else's.
	The children ran and got their coats and were out in the car waiting when Uncle Harry walked to the car whistling a tune.			
			-Can you find the picture of Uncle Harry whistling and mark it #3?	
				Okay - and mark it #3. Daree, do you know how to make #3?
		Very few children complete same without teacher's help.		
				Do not show him your answer. Maybe yours is wrong. Benny would be doing a different one.
	Uncle Harry got into his car, fastened his seat belt and started the car down the highway. There was much traffic near the downtown area.			

Teacher's Instructions	Taped Story Text	Children's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions	Audio Instructions	Teacher's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions to Completing the Activity
			Find the picture of Uncle Harry driving in the downtown traffic and mark it #4.	
				Now, where is it?
		Here. It's that one there.		
				Put #4 on it then. Put #4 on it. Right beside it there by the numbers. Remember you do what you think is right. Don't do what someone else does.
		(Children looking at each others' worksheets throughout the exercise nonetheless.) Penny, look that #4 is right there. (Another child does exercise from peer.) (Text continues but children are not listening as some are still looking from worksheet to worksheet.)		
	As they were driving they saw a fire truck rushing to a fire. All traffic stopped as the fire truck went screaming by.			

Teacher's Instructions	Taped Story Text	Children's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions	Audio Instructions	Teacher's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions to Completing the Activity
				Teacher now says to children who are doing anything but listening to tape - "Okay, where is Uncle Harry? Put the #1 there, okay?"
		Right there you mean?		
				Ponai, where is the picture of Uncle Harry talking? Okay, put the #1 on it. #1.
		I don't know what is #1.		
				Here, #1 is the picture of Uncle Harry, put #1 just beside Uncle Harry there. (Teacher points picture which should be marked.)
	The children were so happy that they jumped up and down and yelled.			
			-Mark the picture with the children jumping up and down with #2.	
		Children are all but listening to tape or teacher.		Which one, Pam, is the picture of the children jumping? That's #2. Mark that one #2. Put #2 on.

Teacher's Instructions	Taped Story Text	Children's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions	Audio Instructions	Teacher's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions to Completing the Activity
		Fire! The fire truck! What #? Four? (Verbalized by the child who seems to know all the answers)		
			Can you see this picture? Can you mark it #5?	
				Which is the #5? #5. Put the #5. (To the child who never seems to know what's required of him today) Pam, do #5. Yes, there is #5.
	The truck passed and the traffic moved again and soon they were hearing the airport. Just as the car drove up to the entrance, a big jet came in for a landing.			
		Aeroplane! Aeroplane! #6! (Anna, who is always ahead of the others.)		

Teacher's Instructions	Taped Story Text	Children's Verbal/Non-Verbal Contributions	Audio Instructions	Teacher's Verbal/ Non-Verbal Contributions to Completing the Activity
			Mark the picture of the jet landing with a #6.	
				#6.
		I know that number right - write here?		
				(Points to spot on worksheet) There!
				Okay, give me your papers and pencils.
		End of Activity		

APPENDIX B

An example of Miss Avery's testing children for their knowledge of content which kindergarten teachers perceive as being necessary for non-English-speaking immigrant children to enter with in Grade 1.

Child #1	Miss Avery
	Okay, could you start writing your numbers from one to ten?
(Child writes and counts to ten.) (Positive)	
	Very neatly done. Good.
(Produces no. 8 of crayons for child to match with numeral)	
	Okay, P How many is this?
Eight.	
	Right. Now can you draw me a circle?
(Positive)	
	Can you draw me a line?
(Positive)	
	Can you draw me a square?
(Positive)	
	Can you draw me a rectangle?
(Negative)	
	Can you draw me a triangle?
(Finish)	
Child #2	
	Could you write your numbers from one to ten?
(Positive response)	
	That's very good. Can you put an X on the number 10 up here?

(Finished)	
	Good. Show me your left hand.
(Not correct)	
	Okay, if you were first in line, would you be closer to the door or the table?
(Table)	
	Can you please write your full name, your address and your telephone number? Okay, what letter is that?
P.	
	Do you know what sound it makes?
(Says sound)	
	Do you know what letter this is?
Z-ed.	
	Do you know what sound it makes?
Zebra.	

Interview with Miss Avery:

Feedback on Testing of Non-English-Speaking-Immigrant Children

An Example of the Teacher's Explanations for Testing

	See, to me the testing is cut and dry.
	Well, I'm kinda looking for ah -- results of a lot of things.
	For example, when they're playing over there (playhouse which is reconstructed to reflect week's unit), it's just -- I'm looking for specific things.
	I'm not looking for any extras.
Teaching for some time out there.	You know -- certain things which they should know before they go into Grade 1.
	In other areas you're looking for other possibilities.
	But in the test situation you're looking for specific things.
What is considered as knowledge.	I'm looking for -- if they know a rectangle, you know that they know something which they need to know in Grade 1.
Conflicts experienced about what is and what should be in the shaping of life in the multi-cultural classroom.	I can certainly think of other things to do but see, the child must have a foundation for Grade 1 and that's what I try to make sure I check on. But I also know, as I taught Grade 1 and I know the problems they have up there, is that the child must know their alphabet, they must know things like I test for.

APPENDIX C

Examples of the assumptions, perceived good intentions, frustrations and fears which influence the way administrators and some participating teachers shaped for non-English-speaking immigrant children.

Interview with the principal officer responsible for coordinating the services for evaluating and placement of new immigrant children in schools and other educational settings.

Date: September, 1983

Researcher's Notes for Further Discussions	Researcher's Questions/ remarks	Principal Officer's Perceptions of the Cultural Language and Learning Abilities of Non-English-Speaking-Immigrant Children
This is not characteristic of only the Caribbean.	I'm trying to get an idea of how the education system works in relation to shaping the education process for non-English-speaking-immigrant children, who are taught by teachers from English speaking backgrounds.	A wide range of students from the Caribbean - although I think education is compulsory there, not all of them have been to school.
		That's our experience.
		We find that some were s'posed to have a Grade 7 or 8 education, were operating at a very, very low level -- almost at a semi-literate level.
Education is what is taught and learnt in schools.		And when we checked we would find that sometimes they lived in an area where they stayed at home and worked rather than go to school.
When children lose their foundation of security academic learning could be a futile exercise. Grandparents try to fulfill that emotional loss.		And when the parents are not there - the parents live here -- and sometimes they live with grandparents and aunts who would not force them to go to school and they don't go to school regularly.
		So by the time they come here they're very much behind in their work.
Is lack of motivation due to the compulsory education system or		They do not have the motivation to go to school 'cause here school is compulsory.
		If you do not, then the social workers would get at

isn't it more the result of the need for time to adjust to a new social structure within the family system and the material and other demands of the second culture society?		parents and challenge them. Otherwise they'll be breaking the law and defending the students.
Do negative effects presume in accomplishment of the desired attitudes to the second culture education system?		But in some countries there are no negative effects on the parents.
	How much of the curriculum used in the Caribbean do the curriculum planners and decision makers here know about in order to make other decisions about the child knowing or not knowing, or, as you said, not being up to standard?	
		Well, some of them are. Some of them are (up to standard meant). But it very much depends on the type of school they went to. We have seen some who have no problems with school.
	I see.	
		If they haven't a good education background, or they haven't been going to school regularly and don't have the appropriate motivation, they cannot adjust quite well.
	I see.	

View of the components of - what facilitates learning.		But I'd say a large number of them do not fit in very well.
Good schooling is equivalent to what is to be taught and learnt in the second culture education system.		As I said earlier, they have to go through all these emotional upheaval, being up-rooted from the home country to get here - and you find they did not have a very good schooling background behind them, all of a sudden they find themselves in a situation where there's an awful lot of pressure they're not able to cope - whereas, a few other ones, they could cope well.
Does anyone cope well under pressure?		
The Stranger (Schutz)		Some seem to have given up once they get here. They're not making any progress once they get here.
The need for time is very important.		They become hostile, or they would react to the new environment with rebel - they would just rebel.
		So, there are many ways in which they're trying to cope.
		That's their (hostility, rebellion) coping mechanism.
	What are some of the support services which are offered to these children and their families to "help them to cope, to help them fit into the system without losing "a large number of them"?	
		Ah — just the regular support systems that's being offered to the regular students, okay.
		Although, very often it depends on the individual schools, the individual teachers; some are much more

	involved than others and they would get extra help for the students. Others, I guess, it depends —
	It all comes down to a matter of resources, okay.
Schooling and Poverty/ Economics (	So, -'cause you see if some of the teachers have not been trained to cope with some of the situations like that it could take them a while to learn that type of strategy to cope with that (that - the hostility, inability to be motivated; to cope and to be non-violent to their environment).
	It's am — I would say whatever services they have that's available - is for the student but ah - in our Centre, we also try to help them out.
Teacher education - is it coping with the demands of understanding the multi-cultural classroom: content, learning styles, etc. In-service or Pr-service or both?	For example, a lot of the E.S.L. students who cannot speak English would go see a counsellor. I myself would at least try to work out something with the student or work through an interpreter because I'm trained as a psychologist, so I'll do some of that work.
	Ahm — again its only myself and another person (a screener) trained as a psychologist to.
What would be the distinction of "those who cannot cope"; desperate cases; semi-literate?	So, we would do some of that work. And again it is a large population so in a sense we cannot do an awful lot in our capacity.
Recognition of the need to view the child, what s/he brings to classroom with the rest of context of his experiential being?	But we do try to help the school with the somewhat desperate cases.
	We can't reach all ah them, I'm not even saying we would be, even if we try.

When a phenomenon is not understood it is approached with uncertainty.

And then another part of my role is to see what other learning problem a child may have because very often, the school personnel do not understand the background the child comes from.

Incorrect evaluative decisions are made on the uncertainty about what is unknown.

Then there is the danger -- the tendency to ship them to special education.

They say that this child is just not up to par.

So what we do here, is to check that out throughly, hours and hours of checking on the child's intellectual level, using ah - tests which are not standardized on the normal population.

Intellectual tests are done to determine what child/ren know. What efforts are made to find out about the other aspects of their development? The intellectual development of any child is relevant to the social, cultural, emotional and language contexts of his/her total life.

Using non-verbal tests where the child - I can at least find out whether the problem is language related; whether it is academically related, or what.

Where are these tests done? In a clinical (lab) situation; or are they done in more familiar settings in which the child is?

In the schools.

Would the child be inhibited somewhat in revealing a true ability to perform?

In all test situations the testing would be inhibiting.

What we try to at least - what we often do, is to have a person who comes from their background to do the testing to make them feel more comfortable.

The person that speaks their language and understand their situation to be there - so that they would feel more comfortable.

Certainly, we try to do that.

But we don't give tests in the home since we see basically the problem of the school, so what we do - we do go and make home visits and discuss the problem with the parents and they would get at least a better understanding of the child.

Does the usual way of doing things do not always produce accurate/fair results?

Even before they enter the system, it is presumed that the school would be a problem for the new children. Would the teachers really get a better understanding of the children's abilities when the tests are done in unfamiliar surroundings?

What do you do if there are parental challenges concerning your diagnoses and/or results?

Oh yes. But we would explain to the parents what observations are in the school and that observations differ from the child's behavior at the home and that basically we are concerned about the child's progress and at development in school.

Compartmentalizing for coming to know.

		We try to get their co-operation and try to get them to work with the child. To us that seems to be one of the viable ways, am — we have quite a few of that (protesting parents).
Parent's knowledge of their children's abilities do not seem to be official/valid in the evaluation of what new children are capable of doing as a total person.		The parent says, the child talks a lot, fights and this and that at home and I don't beleive my child is like that.
How comfortable are the parents of these children in the second culture system?		Sometimes we can get the parents to come in and — observe in the classroom - observe - their child — and they could see there are differences — and then - at least we could talk at that level but not many parents come to the school.
	What might be some of your personal recommendations for action/attitudes if we are to adopt an outlook of "hope" for those children who cannot cope with the system - somewhere down the road (future)?	
		I would recommend that people who go into the education field, should have a much broader background than what they are trained for. It is - ahm - it's no use talking about the teachers who are already in the system.
Implications for teacher education programs.		I'm talking about the ones who are thinking of going into the education system and to train them from there.
Implications for a new pedagogy. Why not inservicing in multiculturalism?		And again that means we will go back to the type of person's who are training these these people - and I ask

Questions and more questions about the adequacy of teacher preparation programs to equip teachers with the skills for teaching children from other cultural backgrounds.		Are they themselves aware of the problems facing the teachers and children? Teachers have to start at the very basic level of multicultural knowledge, that it is not simple. (Laughs) It's such a circular problem.
	How do you mean?	
Around education alone or around the child in a different system of education, expectations; values and attitudes?		However, the whole issue revolves around education:
Continuity of expectations or stage Develop Theory?		1. Education of the child; 2. Education of the adolescent; 3. All the way to the University; and to the Professor.
	Would any other alternative or shorter term plan help to make things a little better for these children say in their own country of origin to perhaps alleviate some of the trauma they experience?	
		It would help a little if the Canadian Immigration Department would let the expectant immigrant persons know that there are certain things they would have to expect and then it would be up to those immigrant parents to work with their children. So by the time they come up - over, they would have

		already been familiar with some of the things which they need to expect and things they would learn which they may not have experienced before.
Would this help what should be a gradual process of human adaptation to a different environment in which differences - not deficiencies would be minimized? The children and parents will have to experience the new acculturation before any positive adjustment could be demonstrated in the new environment.		Like for instance, in terms of education, they could explain what is expected, so that those coming in would have an idea - at least they would be prepared for that, instead of coming in cold and finding out that ah - the child, all of a sudden is doing very poorly couldn't understand why and so becomes hostile. I'm just saying there should be open dialogue between countries so the ones who are planning to emigrate would ask questions of the Canadian authorities.
	What in your experience would you suggest is the school's primary goal in working with these children?	
		Actually, I would not be in a position to say as it could be interpreted in different ways.
	I see.	
		The Reception. I discuss things about education, about Canada, about school regulations so that they would know what our expectations are and in times - ah - they would get some indication of what our expectations are -.
There is not follow-up of these diagnoses in the schools where the invest-		Ahm - that's the reception part - but we also give them initial English screening tests and also tests in their mother tongue, just to determine the level

igation took place.		where they are at so we would know exactly where we would place them, or where to start their education program.
	What did you mean, "tests in English"? Would this be grammar, etc.? What are they like?	
How accurate a diagnosis could be made of these children's English speaking skills when they have very little or none in this language? How relevant are the items of these tests in these new children's lives at this initial stage?		Basically we look for components of language: both speaking skills - reading and writing. Reading again would be looking at comprehension and a part of it would be grammar and writing; that's part of language. But we don't specifically zero in on the linguistic aspects of the child.
Language abilities is still primarily the basis for being defined as a competent student.		We look at communicative competence.
How is this defined?		For example, is the student able to understand enough language so that he would not have problems in the classroom - in the regular classroom. Then we try to give him extra help by putting him in an English as a Second Language classroom for part of the day.
	Who does the testing?	
		Ah - we have, what we call screeners here - who speak another language beside the English and they have - or maybe trained as teachers or educators in their home country, were aware of the education systems

of other countries on the equivalencies of the education system outside Canada and where it would fit into our system.

So, if say a Japanese family comes to enter your system, would there be a Japanese assessor, etc. etc.

We try to get that, okay.

But it is usually pratically impossible to get all the languages.

We do most of our screening in September when the bulk of the new students come in - and sometimes we have forty one different languages.

So, it's impossible to get all those different interpreters.

But we try to get the main ones.

Like we have ahm - Spanish, Chinese and Vietnamese, Polish ah - Chechoslovak, French. We have about ten different languages - Punjabi and Hindi. Other little ones we were able to have access to — as ahm — languages which are not widely spoken here we were not able to get that.

How much of the greater contexts of the child's life do these assessors know? How much of that context in which the education is set?

Most of them know an awfully lot; depends on where they come from regionally.

We try to get children from those countries. They have been trained as teachers in those countries, educators in the education field, so in a sense they know a lot about the system.

So, for instance if the screener is from India - so she knows an awful lot about rural as against urban education systems and policies in India.

That way - if a child comes from a rural as opposed to urban education in India. And the type of school and even the second language system.

For instance, I come from Hong Kong, so I know the Cyramidal system and even some of the names of the schools.

So they have a sort of a prestigeous system.

Similarly, I can give the cultural pattern from which the children comes from.

Where does the Caribbean kid fit into all of this?

Okay, we do get quite a few Caribbean students.

In the main they speak English, okay.

Although it may not be the same type of dialect.

So there is that - that difference.

Most of them do not need E.S.L.

But some of them, depending on the environment they come from may need academic upgrading.

Some of them, they come from rural settings where school is not a regular event. For example, they have twelve year olds and maybe say - so we would look at pamphlets explaining the new system, the education system and we would look at pamphlets explaining the school system; to the parents.

We try to involve the parents into the whole education system.

An example at our parent/teacher interviews we try to get an interpreter for the parents - so whatever problem they may have with the teacher, they would in turn explain the cultural and social background of the student so that they would have a mutual understanding.

In other ones, some schools meet - a lot of the students, but they do not know the students' background.

That may create problems.

Some principals when they realize that they cannot communicate with the children - when they realize that they do not know about the child's socio-cultural backgrounds; when they realize the accompanying frustrations, they have to go and see for themselves in the context of the child's country of origin.

At one time - it may still happen here - personnel - well not only personnel - the people as well - feel that these children will miraculously speak English fluently.

How much of this fact do teachers and other educators know/acknowledge and/or endorse?

But that is not the case.

New, they would have to understand that these children come from very different linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds from themselves.

So they have to be able to acknowledge that.

Some children we see through the centre - some are not conversant in their first langugae, particularly children who come from war torn countries and do not have the benefit of schooling and may never have been

Children's heritage resources are defined to handicaps - comparative to the expectations of the second culture.		to school and their language level is at a much, much, lower level even in their mother tongue. They may not be mentally and intellectually handicapped in any way. But linguistically they are.
		So in a sense it may impede in their own education system.
	So then, the problems, you referred to earlier become compounded for children from war torn countries?	
Perceptions of what the teachers' interests and concerns should be to maximize progress for these children.		When some teachers realize the problem, they just throw up their hands and say - "what am I gonna do"? Just throw up their hands. But after a while if they can accept the student from the background that he comes from, then it would be a lot easier for both the parties concerned. But if they have built a high expectation of the student and the student does not perform to their expectations - they will get frustrated. So the teacher would have to come to understand and I think the onus is on the teacher to understand that. Otherwise there wouldn't be much progress. And you see things are quite different now than when I came to Canada when there were only about two Chinese students in a school and that was different then.

But now, almost in every school you see people coming from different countries.

How well do teachers and educators understand the realities which multiculturalism brings to the classroom?

It means that teachers now cannot escape the fact that they must learn to accept the fact that there are people linguistically different from they are - but at the same time, they are citizens of this country and they have to expect that.

Teachers need to recognize/acknowledge that the children from different language and culture have unique needs. They cannot succeed in the second language/culture classroom if the same curricula and teaching strategies as those used for the children of the second culture.

They just can't expect that - or they could be expected to teach children from the white middle-class type of background.

It does not happen anymore.

Tell me about the situation in your inner-city schools with regards to what we-ve talked about so far.

Is the quality of education primarily couched in the economic realities of those who control financing of program?

Ah - okay - that again is an economic situation . In those areas they have the most inexpensive housing apartments.

They're close to everything, e.g. close to most of the immigrant families.

To be close to their cultural community so for instance in the inner-city you find a lot of Chinese and Vietnamese, some Spanish speaking immigrants in this area.

Ahm - where they can get close to their community and also the schools are these and if they want to go and learn English as a second language the schools are close for the adults so when they have to go to Canada Manpower there is a really a short distance.

So, there is a tendency for them to move to the inner-city area.

So a lot of them, after they have established themselves in the system move out of the area.

When they can afford to put down a downpayment on a house, they move to another area.

But ah - it is more difficult now for a lot of them due to the unemployment situation.

Because it is usually the visual minority that would get laid off first.

A lot of them are unemployed and are on social assistance.

Opportunities of buying a house in the suburbs would be more difficult.

But again you would find that in some of the newer areas, it's like a United Nations that's where and there would be mostly where the new ones would go.

But this would create a high transient problem in these schools - won't it?

Yeh, yeh, yeh - there is a high transient population in the inner-city.

But, ahm, there is a re-development of the inner-city too - because the - some of the older houses in the area are being torn down and there's less of a chance of their moving to other areas.

Say, for instance, at McD. school which is on the side of the inner city there are lots of apartments and non of them are being torn down and they're moving to that area.

So that school, there is a rise in the school population.

But not in some of the other areas.

What then are the criteria for labelling a school in a district as inner-city - as far as education goes?

Umhm - that term may have been imported from the States where at one time they had people who lived in inner-cities for what they called - "coloured or ghetto type of people". The middle class would move out to the suburbs and what remained would be the ghetto and lost people who came to Canada and again a state of ecomonics in Canada.

Most of the immigrant people live in that central core.

As a stranger coming into this system - I enter an inner-city school and I enter into a suburban school. And I see each child in each - as a child - regardless of the location of their school. What would suggest are the differences, if any, which are evident or are distinctly unique to the child in each of these settings?

Why is this:
- cultural;
- attitudinal;
- linguistic;
- view of whose responsibility it is to educate the child?
- kindergarten is not really school.

How does the lack of motivation to do such things as homework, etc. to aid the children in the adopting process?

Well, that's an idealistic view of the child.

Okay, you can look at the faces of the children - they are different.

In the inner-city schools you see a lot more immigrant faces; you see a lot more oriental children than say - the students in the suburbs - you can.

Also you see that ahm - well, I would not see that there are more single families in the inner-city, ahm - and that's causing the happening.

You'll see a lot more of what's called ethnic names in the inner city schools as well and again if you look at the resources in each of these schools - they are different.

If you look at the involvement of the parents, again they are very different because you'll find very few immigrant parents were actively involved in the education process.

They - they would not come to the meetings.

They cannot afford to. They have to work. They cannot take the time off.

Whereas in the suburbs, this is not so. You see mothers coming in doing volunteer work for the school.

But you see very few of this as the situation of life is not the same in the inner-city.

We find that the child is very often on his own and as a coordinator of the centre, I find excuses.

That the child's heritage language is what concerns educators more than any

But when this kid goes home, there is no one at home.

He doesn't bring lunch to school. He is supposed to be eating but he does not. So we check into the situation.

And when we check we find both parents are working at ah - different jobs at minimum wages.

They can't afford to come home and make meals for the child and they come home late - they may come at 11:00 o'clock, so the child, after school would go home till the parents come home.

That's ah - that happens.

We have talks with the parents and we realize the dilema they're in — that in fact they're breaking the law - that children under the age of twelve should be supervised.

Now, if they do that who is going to support the family - to buy food, etc.?

So, it's that kind of dilema we are faced with to cause we know that these parents are trying their best - so in a sense we need more - ahm - some of these social services for some of these schools as - ah - after school programs, so that these children are properly supervised.

But again we run into the practical problem of money.

And we can't even get volunteers because those who could be volunteers are who are working to keep their families surviving.

In a sense there is an awful lot of minuses which the kindergarten child comes in with; like perhaps when the child comes to school, his language is not as well developed as it should be for his age and maybe nutritionally he is not as well - so in that sense other factor for his/her success in the second culture classroom.

The non-English-speaking immigrant child begins the race to the future with disadvantages which are pre-determined by those in the dominant culture.

Crisis factors which contribute to non-English-speaking children's presumed inability to succeed at life in the second culture classroom.

Doesn't this pertain to all humans?

he may be coming to school on an empty stomach and it would make it more difficult to cope with.

So it's a whole set of things that goes on, so in a sense he does come to school already with his minuses.

There are so many complexities.

Again, an identity crisis happens among their peer group who were born here.

Again there is a cultural crisis, a social crisis, there they live in a new environment where they are still trying to find themselves; to find what's going on; to find acceptance in a new culture.

So in a sense there are many, many factors which are bombarded at them and in a sense - also they are then expected to do well in school.

There is an awful lot of expectations coming from various parties.

School expects them to be like that, then the family. Then the peer group expect them to be like that and they themselves set expectations.

How is he going to cope with that?

So, it's very difficult for him.

Cause you see a lot of the parents I have seen - they've given them all they can - what's wrong with my kid.

They blame the kid and not try to see why he is being how he is.

Ah, what's happening to him in a new environment is I guess with the school again he would --

Teachers and educators need to focus on the child/ren more than their physical, social and cultural characteristics.

From personal experience the Caribbean family who 'make' it out of their country into North America usually provide very prestigeous schooling. What happens to change that so drastically and to create no distinction between those who had the "good" life and those who emigrated on a blue collar job experiment?

He comes from a new country where the education system is not the same.

Rather than looking at the child and the child's enviroment - what's causing the problems.

You see they have to deal with that failure.

In the home country the child goes to a prestigeous school.

They have a certain idea of themselves, then all of a sudden here, they become the bottom of the barrel of this society. It becomes different and very difficult.

I know - I have some friends who come from South America whose father is English. So in a sense he felt that - his mother is Trinidadia mixed - he felt that he was white in Trinidad and he went over to live in England.

All of a sudden he become 'black' and he - it was very difficult for him to accept that - so again

Can you in your role make suggestions to the University about including this or that course(s) in teachers' programs?

I think at a certain level, not at my level, there have been some talks with the University, for a number of years and asked the University to teach more courses in E.S.L.

But then you find that there aren't an awful lot of students who are taking those courses.

It's not compulsory - but it should be.

Maybe we should go back to the level of the Department of Education and the Extension Department to help the University make those decisions.

But that's not done. So there's very little that the school could really do.

If they could hopefully get teachers who are so trained then hopefully some of them would become enlighted whereas some would not.

Yes. If one does have the necessary skills then, then what other - what are the strategies could they be motivated to use?

You see you can't force people to do anything.

But once they're trained as teachers we offer them the option to come to workshops where they are prepared through Professional Development, but if they're not going to come, you cannot force them. They may not even come. It doesn't work that way.

there is that conflict.

Again I guess these children or the immigrant who come here sometimes feel that - although not in colour - but in terms of social status, cause a lot of them are professional people, lawyers who have to work in restaurants.

How much is the average teacher prepared to cope with these problems and the multi-cultural reality which seems to be here to stay?

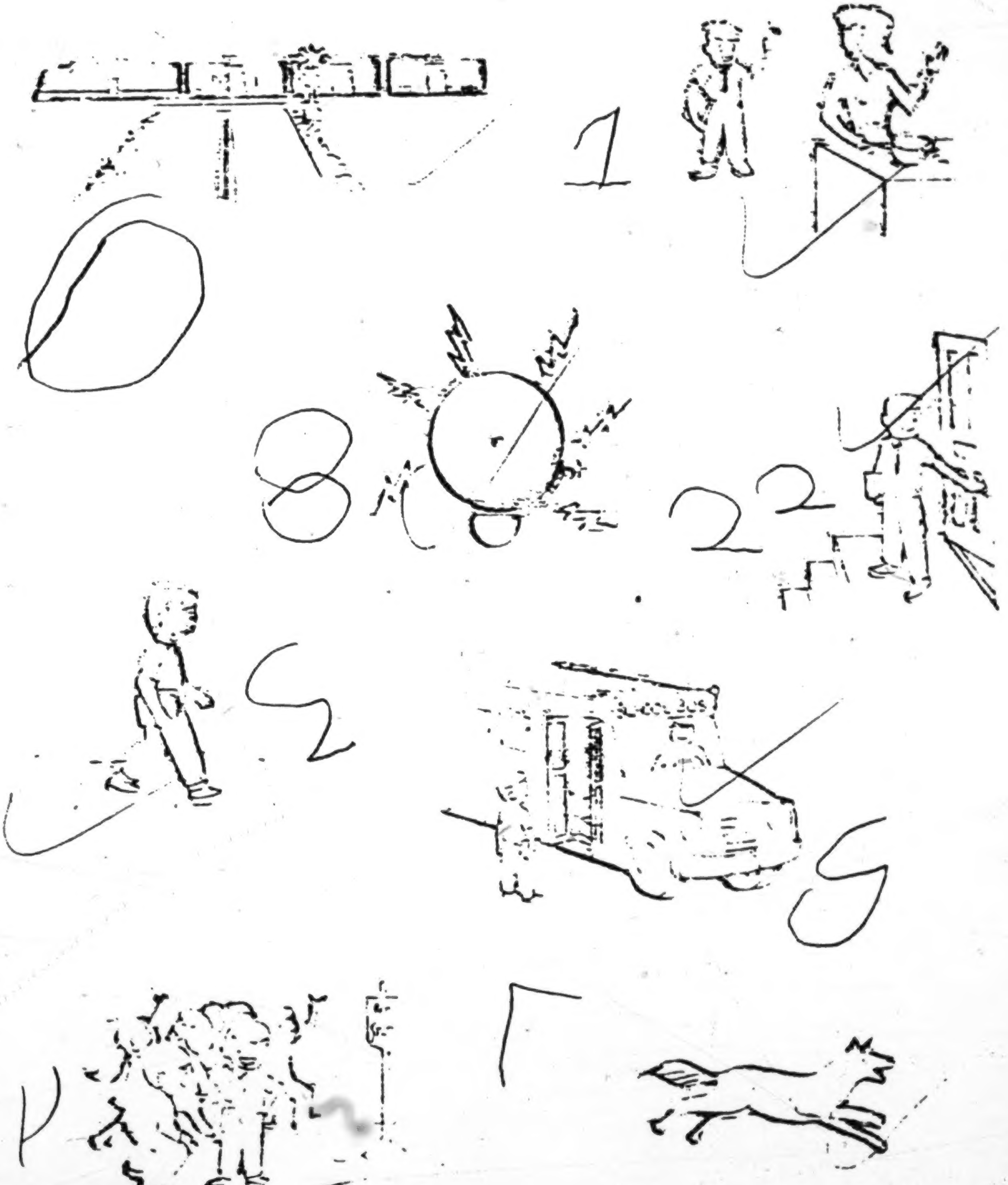
I couldn't answer you that cause the system is now based on a school based budget and it's up to the school principal to hire the people he wants to hire.

It's the teachers choice as to the type of school they want to go in to, so if they want to apply for the job that's fine but in terms of preparation, again you have to go back to the University level; what courses and backgrounds are they providing for these teachers to cope with this reality and to that I would say, very little cause I came from there and I know what type of struggle one has to go through even to get the professors to acknowledge the fact that we live in a multi-cultural society and not - our classrooms are not just - lingual - so you see it's a big struggle.

And I find that at this University level we were not really prepared.

At least a great many teachers are not prepared for that yet - to face that type of environment.

AUDITORY DISCRIMINATION
ACTIVITY LESSON 5



PAGES 313a, 313b & 313c WERE REMOVED DUE TO POOR PRINT QUALITY.

THESE PAGES INCLUDED FIGURE XII.